REPORT RESUMES

ED 010 357 48

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD--INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE FOUR.

BY- VOEGELIN, C. F. VOEGELIN, FLORENCE M.
INDIANA UNIV., BLOOMINGTON

REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VI-63-10 PUB DATE FEB 65
CONTRACT OEC-SAE-9489
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.45 HC-$12.12 303P. ANTHROPOLOGICAL
LINGUISTICS, 7(2)/1-297, FEB.1965

DESCRIPTORS- *INDONESIAN LANGUAGES, *LANGUAGES, ARCHIVES OF
LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

THIS REPORT CONTAINS A LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE AUSTRONESIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES WHICH INCLUDE THE LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA, FORMOSA, MADAGASCAR, THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, AND PART OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. (THE REPORT IS PART OF A SERIES, ED 010 350 TO ED 010 367.) (JK)

ED010357

63-10

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education
This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated do not necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

Anthropological Linguistics

Volume 7 Number 2

February 1965

Title

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE FOUR

A Publication of the
ARCHIVES OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD
Anthropology Department
Indiana University

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS is designed primarily, but not exclusively, for the immediate publication of data-oriented papers for which attestation is available in the form of tape recordings on deposit in the Archives of Languages of the World. This does not imply that contributors will be restricted to scholars working in the Archives at Indiana University; in fact, one motivation for the publication of ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS is to increase the usefulness of the Archives to scholars elsewhere by making publishable data and conclusions and their tape recorded attestation more widely available. (Recorded attestation of papers from scholars elsewhere will be copied by the Archives and the original recordings returned to the collector; others may then work with the tape copy either in the Archives or elsewhere by having a copy sent to them.) In addition to heavily exemplified papers in the form of preliminary or final statements on restricted problems in phonemics, morphophonemics, morphemics, syntax and comparative grammar, ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS will include lexical lists and analyzed texts (especially in the otherwise hard-to-publish range of 20 to 100 pages) and theoretical and methodological papers (especially in the form of papers from symposia).

Each volume of ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS consists of nine numbers to be issued during the months of January, February, March, April, May, June, October, November and December. Subscriptions ($3.50 a year) and papers for publication should be sent to the editor, Dr. Florence M. Voegelin, Anthropology Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Entered as second class matter at the postoffice
at Bloomington, Indiana

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD: INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE FOUR

C.F. and F.M. Voegelin

Indiana University

4.1. Unified list of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Formosa and Madagascar

4.2. Sample of sound systems in Indonesian languages

4.3. Cham, as spoken in Vietnam

4.4. North Roglai in Vietnam

4.5. Javanese

4.6. Sundanese in Western Java

4.7. Buginese in the Celebes

4.8. Bahasa Indonesia

4.9. Maranao in the Philippines

4.10. Chamorro in Micronesia

For authorship and sponsorship, see Languages of the World: Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One (0.1). The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

4.1. The term 'Indonesia' or 'Indonesian' is widely used in four interrelated ways; we are chiefly concerned with the last two usages listed below.

(1) Indonesia as a nation includes speakers of languages sometimes referred to as East and West Indonesian. But national Indonesia also includes aboriginal languages which are not Indonesian linguistically; these non-Indonesian languages do not even belong to the Austronesian language family -- e.g. North Halmahera, Alor, and a half hundred or more Papuan languages in West New Guinea.

(2) Indonesia as in area is a bit more than the island extension of Southeast Asia from Sumatra eastward, up to but not including West New Guinea. The Malay Peninsula is sometimes included within the boundary of areal Indoneasia. Altogether, Indonesia as an area is both more and less than Indonesia as a nation. It is less than Indonesia as a nation because it does not include West New Guinea which is included in national Indonesia. Indonesia as an areal term covers more ground--or at least different ground--than Indonesia as a national term, although the two terms overlap in their coverage for the most part. Areal Indonesia includes also Brunei in Borneo, a remnant outpost of the British colonial empire, and the four parts of the new Malaysia nation: (a) the Malay Federated States in the Malay Peninsula and (b) the off-shore island city of Singapore; and also (c) Sarawak and (d) Sabah which, together, cover about a third of Borneo.

(3) Indonesia or Indonesian, in rough and ready linguistic usage, is

applied to those languages of the Austronesian family that are non-Polynesian, non-Melanesian, and non-Micronesian. Behind this apparently excluding term, much more is included than is included in the national scope (1, above), or in the areal scope (2, above) of the same term. In its broad linguistic usage, Indonesian is a cover term for Philippine languages, Formosan languages, mainland Austronesian languages spoken in Vietnam and Cambodia, and also for Malagasy spoken in Madagascar (across the channel from Mozambique in Africa), and, of course, for Austronesian languages spoken in national and areal Indonesia.

(4) In a narrower linguistic usage, Indonesian excludes all Philippine-type languages -- whether spoken in the Philippines or not -- but includes generally the rest of the far-flung languages that are called Indonesian in the broader linguistic sense of Indonesian(3, above). Further restrictions on what languages are to be classified as 'Indonesian' appear when lexicostatistic evidence alone is used for making decisions on inclusion and on exclusion.

All of the languages which have been generally classified as belonging to an Indonesian branch of Austronesian, except Enganno (spoken on Enganno Island just south of eastern Sumatra), Atayal and Seedik (spoken on Formosa) and most of the languages of West New Guinea, are included in Dyen's Malayopolynesian Linkage. For over-all membership of Austronesian languages in the Malayopolynesian Linkage, see Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1.3). Within the Malayopolynesian Linkage, all of the languages generally classified as Indonesian fall into the Hesperonesian Linkage, except three languages uniquely subgrouped -- Totemboan (spoken in North Celebes), Palau and Chamorro (spoken in Micronesia) -- and except four languages spoken in Formosa and grouped as the East Formosan Hesion, and except the languages of the eastern Indonesian islands (eighteen of which are included in Dyen's sample and grouped as the Moluccan Linkage). Aside from these exceptions, the rest fall into the Hesperonesian Linkage. The languages of the Philippines, and four languages of Borneo, and two languages of North Celebes, constitute a Northwest Hesion within the Hesperonesian Linkage. The languages of the western Indonesian islands, except Sentah and Maanyan of Borneo and four languages of the central and southern Celebes, plus the Austronesian languages of mainland Southeast Asia constitute a West Indonesian Hesion within the Hesperonesian Linkage.

To Dyen's classification (1963 and 1965) of Indonesian languages we add from other sources, alternate language names, populations, and names of additional languages subgrouped with these or spoken in the same geographic area.

West Indonesian

Dyen's West Indonesian Hesion includes the languages of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, the Austronesian languages of Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia and Malaya) and some of the languages of Borneo. This 'Hesion' is more or less equivalent to Western Indonesian (as distinguished from Eastern and Northern Indonesian) recognized by Dutch scholars as early as J. L. A. Brandes (1884). Sub-groupings made by Dutch and Indonesian scholars would differ from Dyen's in that their tendency has been to follow S. J. Esser's linguistic map in Atlas van Tropisch Nederland (Batavia, 1938, map 9b) in classifying together languages spoken on the same island or island group (e.g. a 'Java Group' consisting of Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese; a 'Sumatra Group' consisting of Malay and all the languages of Sumatra except Achinese, which shows some divergent features in phonological and morphological development). Dutch scholars also include in Western Indonesian some languages not included in Dyen's West Indonesian Hesion, as Maanyan and Malagasy.

Dyen's lexicostatistic subgrouping of 'West Indonesian Hesion' cuts across the Dutch subgrouping of 'West Indonesian'. For example, the Sundic Hesion includes some languages of the 'Sumatra group' and all languages of the 'Java' and 'Bali-Sasak' groups, but excludes other languages of the 'Sumatra group', as those in the Batak Subfamily, and Enganno—'ungrouped', and not even placed in the West Indonesian Hesion.

a. West Indonesian Hesion

  1. Sundic Hesion

    1. Javo-Sumatra Hesion

      1. Malayic Hesion

        1. Malayan Subfamily

1. Malay (Malay-Besemah (Pasemah)-Serawaj (Semendo-Serawai)-Mentok-Amboina), 1,000,000 speakers on the Riau Islands, 300,000 speakers in the coastal area of East Sumatra and Palembang, 300,000 speakers in southern ar southwestern Sumatra, 100,000 speakers on the island of Ambon, 500,000 in the coastal area of southeast Borneo, 1,000,000 in Java (Jakarta), and more than a million in Malaysia; the total number of native speakers

of Malay is about ten million.

2. Minangkabau (Minang), almost 2,000,000 speakers in West Sumatra.

3. Kerintji (Kerinchi, Kinchai), 170,000 speakers in West Sumatra; see comments in 1.4 on the non-reciprocal intelligibility of Kerintji with Minangkabau.

2. Madurese; 5,000,000 speakers on the island of Madura and the north coastal area of eastern Java.

3. Achinese (Achenese), 1,000,000 speakers in northern Sumatra.

4. Lampungic Subfamily

1. Lampung (Api), 200,000 speakers in southern Sumatra.

2. Kroe', southern Sumatra.

2. Sundanese (Sundanese (Priangan) - Banten), 15,000,000 speakers in western Java; the Banten speakers of Sundanese live in the highlands; the coastal people of Banten speak Javanese.

3. Javanese (Javanese - West Javanese-Tjirebon), 45,000,000 speakers in central and eastern Java.

2. Sasak, spoken in eastern Lombok.

3. Balinese, with 2,000,000 speakers on the island of Bali, the northern part of Nusapenida and the western part of Lombok Islands.

4. Gayo, 120,000 speakers in the mountain region of north Sumatra.

5. Dayak Subfamily, spoken on Borneo.

1. Sampitic Cluster

        1. Sampit
        2. Katingan
    2. Ngadju
2. Batak Subfamily, on Sumatra.
    1. Toba-Angkola (Toba - Mandailing), there are 2,000,000 speakers of Toba around Lake Toba.
    2. Simalungun (Simelungan)
    3. Karo
3. Cru (Kru, Chru), spoken in Vietnam.

We list below additional languages which Dutch and Indonesian scholars have classified with languages that Dyen has placed in his West Indonesian Hesion:

Those included in the 'Sumatra group' are:

1. Lubu, possibly a dialect of Kerintji, 1,000,000 speakers in the central region of East Sumatra.
2. Redjang (Rejang) - Lebong, 250,000 speakers in southwestern Sumatra.
3. Kubu, also listed as a dialect of Malay, 3,000 speakers in the northeastern part of South Sumatra.
4. Simalur-Sikhule, on the island of Simalur.
5. Nias, 50,000 speakers on the islands of Nias and Batu.
6. Simalegi-Sakalagan (Mentawai), 50,000 speakers on the Mentawai Islands.
7. Palembang, 500,000 speakers in southeastern Sumatra.
8. Benkulan (Bengkulu) in the western part of southern Sumatra, which may represent the same languages as Kroë in the Lampungic Subfamily.

9. Mapor (Lom)
10. Lontjong
11. Samsam

Additional dialect names for the languages of the 'Sumatra Group' include:

For Achinese: Baruh, Banda, Tunong, Bueng, Pidie (Pedir, Timu), Pase, Daja.

For Gayo: Dorot, Bobasan, Serbodjadi, Tampur.

For Minangkabau: Agam, Pajokumbuh, Tanah, Si Djundjung, Batu Sangkar-Pariangan, Singkarak,

For Kerintji (Korintji, Kurintji), besides possibly Lubu, above: Ulu, Mamaq, Akit, Rawa, Talang, Sakei, Mokomoko.

For Simalur (Simulul, Simeuloë, Leng bano)- Sikhule: Tapah, Lekon.

For Nias: Sichule (Wali Banuah), Batu.

For Simalegi-Sakalagan (Mentawei): Silabu, Taikaku, Saumanganja.

For the languages of the Lampungic Subfamily, assignment of dialect names to languages is complicated by the fact that some sources list as one language Lampung-Komering (Kemering), while others list two languages: Lampung (Api) and Kroë (Kru'i)-Komering (together called Njo).

Malay dialect names are as numerous as the places in which Malay is spoken. They are as diverse as the many scholars who have reported on them. Only occasional names from such reports are given above. A sample of a fuller, subclassified list is that below, after Salzner (1960).

- a. Riouw - Lingga Malay (Djohor Malay)
  - a. Bangka Malay
  - b. Natuna Malay
    - a. Bungguran
    - b. Ulu
  - c. Billiton Malay
  - d. Mergui Malay (Pashu)
- b. Java Malay
- c. Borneo Malay, including Sintang Malay
- d. Moluccan Malay
  - a. Manado Malay
  - b. Ambon Malay
  - c. Timor Malay
- e. Kubu (treated by some Indonesians as a separate language, and listed above)
  - a. Lalang
  - b. Bajat
  - c. Ulu Lako
  - d. Tungkal
  - e. Tungkal Ilir
  - f. Dawas
  - g. Supat
  - h. Djambi

  - i. Ridan
  - j. Nomadic Kubu
- f. Orang Darat (Land People)
  - a. Orang Darat
  - b. Muntok
  - c. Pelangas
  - d. Ampang
  - e. Kadiala
  - f. Bukit (Hill) Penagan
  - g. Permisan
  - h. Ulim
  - i. Gosong
  - j. Toboali
  - k. Airabek
  - l. Koba, including Land Sekah
- g. Orang Laut (Sea People)
  - a. Sekah
  - b. Djuru
  - c. Mantang
  - d. Besukuan
  - e. Barok
  - f. Tambus
  - g. Benua
  - h. Kappir (and Moken, below, like Mergui Malay, above, are spoken

on the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, off the northwest coast of the Malay Peninsula)

- **i. Moken (Salon, Selung [Burmese name] , Chhao Nam, Chhao Le [both are Thai names])**

h. Temuadn

i. Niap

- **a. Belanas**
- **b. Mantra**

Middle Malay (not listed as a subgroup of Malay, but elsewhere treated as such, e.g., the first two appear in Dyen's classification as dialects of Malay)

- **a. Besemah**
- **b. Serawai**
- **c. Ka'ur**
- **d. Semendo**
- **e. Mekakau**
- **f. Lembak Bliti**
- **g. Lembak**
- **h. Lembak Sindang**
- **i. Ogan**
- **j. Lematang**
- **k. Musi**

An additional name in the Batak subfamily is Dairi (Pakpak), whose status as a dialect or separate language is not yet determined. Our sources

which state that Dairi and Karo are mutually intelligible dialects of one language also merge Simalungun and Toba-Angkola as dialects of a second Batak language. Hence if Toba- Angkola, Simalungun, and Karo are three separate languages, as Dyen asserts, Dairi may turn out to be a fourth separate language in the Batak Subfamily. Another Batak name, Alas, seems more clearly to label a dialect of Karo.

Enggano, spoken by a few people on the island of Enggano, west of the southern end of Sumatra, sometimes treated as a member of the 'Sumatra Group' is not grouped by Dyen with any other language within the Austronesian family; it still belongs ('ungrouped') in the Austronesian family.

There are no more languages in the 'Java group' than the three languages listed above, but additional dialect names appear.

For Javanese: West Javanese: Tegal, Cheribon dialect, Indramaju, Middle Java; East Javanese: Solo, Tembung Pasisir, Surabaja dialect, Malang-Pasuruan dialect, Tengger, Banjuwangi.

For Madurese: West Madurese: Bangkalan, Pamekasan; East Madurese (Sumenep): Bawean, Pasuruan - Besuki, Sapudi-Kangean.

Other languages or dialects in the 'Bali-Sasak group' are:

1. Nusa, spoken in the southern part of the island of Nusapenida
2. Sumbawa, spoken on the western end of Sumbawa Island
3. Lekong, a dialect of Sasak.

Cru is included among other Austronesian languages of Vietnam in a 'Chamic group' consisting of:

1. Cru (Chru, Kru), 5,000 speakers
2. Rade, 60,000 speakers
3. Jorai, 20,000 speakers
4. Bih, 1,000 speakers
5. Northern Roglai, 30,000 speakers
6. Southern Roglai-Rai, 20,000 speakers
7. Hroy, 3,000 speakers (may be a dialect of Cham)
8. Cham, 50,000 speakers in Vietnam and another 100,000 in Cambodia.
9. Cac Gia Roglai, 2,000 speakers.

Other languages and dialects which are classified with languages in Dyen's Dayak Subfamily are listed immediately below. The list includes those subgroups of the 'Borneo group' (as already identified) which either (a) include a language of the Dayak subfamily (as the Ot Danum group which includes Sampit and Ngadju) or (b) do not include any languages classified by Dyen. Some of these languages may be more closely related to Sentah (Sarawak Dayak), which is 'ungrouped', than to the Dayak Subfamily, or they may not be closely related to Sentah, but still share the feature of being 'ungrouped' that is exhibited by Sentah. In the case of this particular list, we are relisting [in square brackets] Dyen's Dayak Subfamily language names. We omit Maanyan from the Ot Danum list on the basis of Dyen's classification of Maanyan.

Klemantan group:

1. Sanggau
2. Behe
3. Menjuke

4. Sidin (Siding)

5. Land Dayak:

a. Landu

b. Luru

c. Krokong

d. Singhi (Bisingai) including Serambo

e. Grogoĕ

f. Sauh (Biratak)

g. Sermah (Bionah)

h. Quop (Bikuab)

i. Beta

j. Sadong (Tebakang)

k. Milikin

l. Punan (Bunan):

i. Punan Murang

ii. Punan Penjabung Djuloi

iii. Punan Penjabung Busang

6. Maloh

Ot Danum group:

1. Ot Danum:

a. Ot Banu'u

b. Ot Danum

c. Ot Siang

  - d. Ot Balawan
  - e. Ot Olang Olang
  - f. Ot Tuhup
  - g. Ot Murung

[2. Sampit]

3. Kelingan

4. Pari

5. Lawangan:
   - a. Lawangan Karau (Lawangan Beloh)
   - b. Lawangan Bakoi (Lawangan Lampung)
   - c. Lawangan Paku
   - d. Lawangan Ajuh
   - e. Lawangan Bawu
   - f. Lawangan Tabojan
   - g. Lawangan Mantararen
   - h. Lawangan Tabojan Tongka
   - i. Lawangan Njumit
   - j. Lawangan Purai
   - k. Lawangan Bantian
   - l. Lawangan Purung
   - m. Lawangan Lolang
   - n. Lawangan Kali
   - o. Lawangan Tuwang

- p. Lawangan Banuwang
- q. Lawangan Lawa, including Dusun:
  - i. Dusun Wito
  - ii. Dusun Dusun
  - iii. Dusun Bajan Tawan
  - iv. Dusun Bajan
  - v. Dusun Bajan Karamuan
  - vi. Dusun Karawatan
  - vii. Dusun Mualang

[6. Ngadju]:

- a. Pulopetak
- b. Mengkatip:
  - i. Oloh Mengkatip
  - ii. Oloh Mangtangai
- c. Kahaian
- d. Sihoang

Sea Dayak group:

1. Sibuian
2. Batang Lupar
3. Bala'u
4. Sekarang
5. Bugau

Belana'u (Milano) group:

1. Bintulu
2. Matu
3. Bruit
4. Oga
5. Muka
6. Narom
7. Miri
8. Dali
9. Tutong
10. Lemiting
11. Lelak
12. Long Kiput
13. Long Pata
14. Batu Bla
15. Berawan
16. Kanowit
17. Tanjong
18. Siduari, including Kadayan.

Other Borneo Languages and Malagasy

Of the languages of Borneo mentioned in Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1. 4) some, especially those in the south and on the west coast, are more closely related to those in Dyen's Sundic Hesion than to other groups in Dyen's classification — e.g. Bandjarese and Kutai, the most important in terms of numbers of speakers, estimated to be one million for each. Other Borneo languages, especially those in the north, are more closely related to the Borneo languages included in Dyen's Philippine Hesion, below. Two other languages — Sentah and Maanyan — are classified as closely related to neither group. But all of the Austronesian languages of Borneo may certainly be classified with members of Dyen's Hesperonesian Linkage.

Sentah (Sarawak Dayak) is a member of the Hesperonesian Linkage not subgrouped with other members.

Maanyan, also spoken in Borneo, is tentatively placed in a Malagasic Cluster which is classified as a member of the Hesperonesian Linkage not subgrouped with other members. The Malagasic Cluster consists of Maanyan and Malagasy, spoken by five million people on the island of Madagascar. This grouping is tentative because Dyen had only a 'subadequate' list for Maanyan; the percentages of shared basic vocabulary between this list and others in the sample, however, confirmed Dahl's hypothesis that Malagasy is especially closely related to Maanyan (Malgache et maanjan, Otto Chr. Dahl, Avhandlinger utgitt av Egede-Instituttet, Vol. 3, 1951), discounted by most other Austronesian scholars. On the basis of phonological and lexical differences, Malagasy dialects are divided into an eastern and a western group each of which includes a number of dialects. Dyen's sample included word lists for two eastern dialects (Merina and Taisaka), one comparison of which yielded a percentage (70.2%) very close to Dyen's lowest limit for dialects of the same language (70.0%); the further differentiation of western dialects from those of the east might have resulted in the classification of western dialects as constituting a separate language had one been included in the sample. Eastern dialects include Merina (Hova), Taisaka (Antaisaka), Tanosy, Taimanambondro, Sahafatra, Taifasy, Taimoro, Tambahoaka, Betsimisaraka, Sihanaka, Bezanozano (Antaiva, Antanka, Tankay) (with a population of 25,000 in 1951), Tanala (Antanala, including the Menabe and Ikongo sub-tribes with a total population of about 170,000 in 1951), Bara, Betsileo, and Tsimihety. Western dialects include Sakalava, Vezo, Mahafaly, Tanalana, and Tandroy. Some dialects, as Tankarana in the north and Tanosy in the south are said to be transitional between the eastern and western groups.

Languages spoken on Borneo in Dyen's Hesperonesian Linkage include (in addition to those listed in the Dayak Subfamily of the West Indonesian Cluster; the 'un-grouped' Sentah; the Malagasic Cluster; and the Murutic Subfamily and Dusun of the Philippine Hesion) those listed below, classified by Dyen as members of a Kalabitic Cluster:

1. Kayan
2. Kenyah
3. Kalabit

Languages and dialects grouped with those of the Kalabitic Cluster in a 'Kenyah-Bahau-Kayan group' are listed below (after Salzner, 1960, with the names of the languages of the Kalabitic Cluster enclosed in brackets).

[1. Kenyah (Kenja)]:

    a. Kinjin

- b. Lepu Tau
- c. Lepu Anau
- d. Lepu Pohun
- e. Lepu Sawa
- f. Lepu Pun
- g. Malang
- h. Madang
- i. Sibop:
  - i. Tinjar Sibop
  - ii. Lirong
  - iii. Long Pokun
- j. Long Aki

2. Medang
3. Murik
4. Punan:
   - a. Ba Mali
   - b. Rejang Punan
   - c. Bok Punan
   - d. Nibon Punan
   - e. Manketa Punan
5. Ukit-Bakatan:
   - a. Ukit
   - b. Bakatan

6. Kajaman

[7. Kalabit]:
  a. Brung Kalabit
  b. Lepu Potong
  c. Libbung Kalabit

[8. Kayan (Kajan)]:
  a. Rejang Kayan
  b. Uma Blubo
  c. Uma Poh
  d. Uma Baloi

9. Treng:
  a. Long Pata
  b. Balait
  c. Tabun

Celebes

Two of the languages of northern Celebes - Gorontalo and Suwawa - are treated with languages of the Philippines as members of the Northwest Hesion, below.

Tontemboan, also spoken in northern Celebes, is classified by Dyen as a member of the Malayopolynesian Linkage which is not grouped with other members

Tontemboan is classified by Dutch and Indonesian linguists as a member of a Northern Celebes (Minhasa or Ton (lake)) group, which is constituted as follows:

(a) Northeastern:

1. Tombula, including the Taratarą dialect
2. Tonsea (90,000 speakers)
3. Tondano (Tolou, Tolour), including the Kaʔkas - Remboken dialect

(b) Southwestern:

4. [Tontemboan (Tompakewa]:
    a. Matana' i (Maore')
        i. Tontemboan
        ii. Sonder
    b. Makela' i (Maotow)
        i. Tompaso
        ii. Langoan
5. Tonsawang
6. Bola'ang - Mongondou (Mongondou, Bolaamongondow), 400,000 speakers:
    a. Lolak
    b. Mongondou
    c. Pasi
    d. Dumoga
    e. Lolajan
    f. Ponosakan.

Two other names appear in lists of 'North Celebes group' languages — Minhasa, said to have 400,000 speakers, and Ratahąn, said to have 150,000 speakers; either or both of these names may be synonymous with names already listed above.

Four languages of central and southern Celebes constitute the Celebes Hesion, subclassified as follows:

1. Bareic Subfamily
    1. Baree, 175,000 speakers in central Celebes
    2. Linduan (Lindu (Tado) - Kulawi (Moma))
2. Bugic Subfamily
    1. Macassarese (Makassar), 900,000 speakers in south Celebes
    2. Buginese, 2,500,000 speakers in south Celebes, and the western part of northern and central Celebes.

The languages of the Bareic Subfamily are placed by the Dutch and Indonesians in a larger Toradja group. This group consists of:

(a) West Toradja (Parigi-Kaĭli):

1. Tawaili:
    - a. Northern dialect (Raii)
    - b. Southern dialect (Torai)
2. Lore (Lole, Unde), the number of speakers is variously estimated between 100,000 and 140,000.
3. Ganti (Ndepu'u)
4. Palu, estimates of numbers of speakers vary between 200,000 and 300,000:
    - a. Palu (Kaili, Ledo') including Doĭ
    - b. Sigi (Idja)
    - c. Pakuli (Ado)
    - d. Sidondo (Edo)

[5. Lindu (Tado)]

[6. Kulawi (Moma)]

7. Pekawa

8. Tamungkolowi (Dompa)

9. Tobaku (Ompa)

10. Banggakoro (Ado)

11. Tawaelia (Baria)

12. Sausu:

- **a. Dolage (Ta'a Doë)**
- **b. Sausu (Ta'a Dolo)**

13. Tara (Parigi), with 125,000 speakers in the northern part of central Celebes

14. Pipikoro (Uma Aria):

- **a. Uma:**
    - **i Winantu- Gimpu**
    - **ii Tole'e**
    - **iii Kantewu**
    - **iv Peana**
    - **v Boku**
- **b. Benahu (Aria)**

(b) East Toradja:

15. Napu (Bara)

16. Behoa (Besoa, Ti'ara), including the dialects Hanggira (Da'ara) and Bada (Ti'ara)

17. Leboni (Ha'uwa):

- a. Leboni
- b. Rampi (Lambu)
- c. Rato

(18) through (23), below, constitute a Baree (Bare'e) subgroup of the East Toradja subgroup:

18. Baree (Bare'e):
    - [a. Baree (Bare'e)]:
        - i. Lego
        - ii. Pebato
    - b. Lala'eo (Nde'e, Aunde'e, Unde'e)
    - c. Taa:
        - i. Tare'e:
            - a. Ampona (Ampana), reported to have 175,000 speakers in central Celebes, but this figure probably applies to a larger group to which Ampona belongs
            - b. Wana
        - ii. Togia (Tandjo'u, Una-Una), 150,000 speakers on the Togian Islands
    - d. Po'u mBoto (Are'e)
    - e. Salu Maoge (A'e'e)
    - f. Tora'u Ba'u (Strand Baree)
    - g. Tawualongi
    - h. Watu
    - i. Tananda

19. Laiwonu (Iba)

20. Batui (Baha)

21. Sinohoan (Daido, Ido, Idore'e)

22. Bela (mBelala, Baria)

23. Rapangkaka (Aria).

Two other names appear in lists of Toradja group languages—Pamona (100,000 speakers in central Celebes) and Toradja (250,000 speakers in central Celebes); either or both of these may be synonymous with names listed above.

The languages of the Bugic Subfamily of the Celebes Hesion are placed by Dutch and Indonesian scholars in a larger 'South Celebes group', as follows:

Macassar-Bugi subgroup:

[1. Macassar (Makassar, Taena, Tena)]:

a. Macassar

b. Turateya (Turatea)

c. Bonthain (Bonta'eng)

d. Selayar (Salajar, Siladja, Silajara), with 200,000 speakers on Selayar Island

[2. Bugi (De')]:

a. Bugi

b. Sindjai, including Luwu, with 500,000 speakers in southeastern Celebes

3. Wotu (La'edo)

4. Toala

Sadang (Sadan, Ta'e) subgroup:

5. Sadang:

    a. Masamba

    b. Rongkong-Kanandede

    c. Rante Pao

    d. Makale.

6. Masenrempulu:

    a. Kasa

    b. Leta

    c. Duri, which is reported to have 250,000 speakers, but this figure may apply to all of Masenrempulu

    d. Enrekang

    e. Batu Lapa

    f. Maiwa

7. Pitu Uluna Salu:

    a. Tabulahan

    b. Mamasa, which is reported to have 175,000 speakers, but this figure may apply to a larger group to which Mamasa belongs

    c. Mambie̋

    d. Rante Bulawan

    e. Mangki (Maki)

    f. Tubi (Ade)

Mandar subgroup:

8. Mandar (Andian), 250,000 speakers:

   a. Tjenrana (Andian)
   b. Madjene (Ida, Andiang)
   c. Tjampalagian (Tasing)
   d. Balangnipa (Taë')
   e. Binuang (Taë')

9. Mamudju (Udai), including Talumpa (Tenteria)

Seko subgroup:

10. Seko.

Four other names appear in lists of South Celebes Group languages; any or all of these may be synonymous with names listed above:

Bira (75,000 speakers)
Ara (75,000 speakers)
Tiro (75,000 speakers)
Kadjang (50,000 speakers)

Other languages of the central and southern Celebes area include those in the 'Loinang Group', the 'Banggai Group', the 'Bungku-Laki Group' and the 'Muna-Butung Group'. Languages and dialects listed in these groups include those given below.

Loinang Group:

1. Loinang (Loindang, Madi):
   a. Loinang
   b. Saluan, 100,000 speakers in the eastern part of central Celebes
2. Bobongko (Andio'o, Imbao'o) (nearly extinct)

3. Balantak (Kosian), 125,000 speakers in the eastern part of central Celebes.

Banggai Group:

1. Banggai is spoken by 200,000 people on the Banggai Islands and the western part of the Sula Islands.

Bungku-Laki (Bungku-Mori) Group:

1. Bungku (Nahine):
    a. Bungku, spoken in the eastern part of central Celebes, is reported to have 180,000 speakers
    b. Tulambatu (Hileo)
    c. Watu (Hina)
    d. Wowoni (Wawoni, Naida)
    e. Rete (Naida)
    f. Epe-Routa (Nahina)
    g. Marumeme (Maronene, Nahina):
        i. Marumeme, spoken on Kabaena Island off the southeastern end of Celebes
        ii. Kabaëna
2. Mori (Aikoa), 200,000 speakers in central Celebes:
    a. Aikoa (West Mori)
    b. Petasia (East Mori, Nahina)
    c. Tambe'e (South Mori, Ajo)
    d. Soroako-Karongsi-Sinongko (Nahina)
    e. Padoë (Alalao)

3. Lolaki (Lalaki, Laki, Tambuoki), with 125,000 speakers in southeastern Celebes:
    a. Wiwi R ano (Nohina)
    b. Labea'u (Noihe)
    c. Waru (Nehina)
    d. Asera Wanua (Noie)
    e. Laiwui (Tambuoki, Kioki)
4. Mekongka (Norio):
    a. Mekongka (Norio)
    b. Tamboki
    c. Konio

Three other names of languages spoken in southeastern Celebes appear in lists of Bungku-Laki Group languages; any or all of them may be synonymous with names listed above:

Bingkokak, 150,000 speakers
Kolaka, 200,000 speakers
Kendari, 500,000 speakers

Muna-Butung Group:

1. Muna (Mina), with 200,000 speakers on Muna Island off southeastern Celebes, is spoken in three dialects: Northern Muna, Southern Muna, and Kapontori (Akido).

2. Butung, with a northern and a southern dialect, is reported to be spoken by 200,000 people on Butung Island and the Tukangbesi Islands off southeastern

Celebes, but this figure may include the Tukangbesi-Bonerate, below.

3. Tukangbesi-Bonerate Group:
    a. Wantji (Binongko)
    b. Bonerate:
        i. Bonerate
        ii. Kalaotoa-Karompa
4. Lajolo (Da'ang).

Eastern Indonesian

Eastern Indonesian languages are not considered a group in the same sense as West Indonesian; 'East Indonesian' has been used to mean the languages of Indonesia which were not West Indonesian, with the realization that these languages are much more diversified than the languages of western Indonesia. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the eastern languages included in Dyen's Moluccan Linkage do not form hierarchial subgroups as do the languages of West Indonesian.

We include in the Moluccan Linkage all languages placed there by Dyen on the basis of so-called 'adequate' word lists, and this procedure is the general one followed in our report. However, at this juncture we also include in this particular list (the Moluccan Linkage), all languages placed there by Dyen on the basis of so-called 'subadequate' word lists. The languages supported by the 'adequate' word-lists are named first in the 'subgroups' below while those more weakly supported by 'subadequate' word lists will be found as second-named and third-named members of 'subgroups'.

In addition there are some languages which are not included in subgroups; some of these are also based on 'adequate' and some on 'subadequate' word lists. When a non-subgrouped language is based on an 'adequate' word list, we give the name of that language without reference to degree of relationship.

When a non-subgrouped language is based on a 'subadequate' word list, we cite its highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with another language in the Moluccan Linkage that is based on an 'adequate' word list.

Sikkic Subgroup (languages 1 and 2):

1. Sikka, spoken in central Flores Island
2. Solor, spoken on Solor Island, off the eastern tip of Flores

3. Endeh, spoken on Flores Island, has its highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with Sikka.

4. Tettum (Tetum), spoken on Timor Island, also has its highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with Sikka.

Letic Subgroup (languages 5 and 6, spoken on tiny islands east of Timor):

5. Leti, on Leti Island
6. Kisar, on Kisar Island

7. Havunese (Hawu, Sawu, Savu, Sabu), spoken by 40,000 people on the islands of Sawu and Raidjua, south of Flores and west of Timor, in five dialects: Seba, Timu, Liae, Mesara, and Raidjua.

8. Sumba, spoken on Sumba Island, south of Flores

Fordatic Subgroup (languages 9, 10, 11, spoken in the Tanimbar Islands and the Kei (Kai) Islands to the northeast):

9. Kei (Kai)
10. Fordat (Fordata)
11. Jamden (Jamdera)

Ambic Subfamily (languages 12 and 13, spoken on Ambon Island):

12. Ambonese (Nusulaut - Saparua - Haruku - Hila - Asilulu)
13. Paulohi

14. Sobojo, spoken on Taliabo Island, has its highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with the Ambic Subfamily.

15. Bonfia, spoken on Ceram Island, also has its highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with the Ambic Subfamily.

16. Buru, spoken on Buru Island, just west of Ceram

17. Sekar (Seka), spoken by 450 people on the Bombarai (Bomberai) Peninsula of West New Guinea

18. Kuiwai (Kowiai, Kaiwai), with 600 speakers, also on the Bomberai Peninsula of West New Guinea.

Other languages or dialects spoken in the same area and classified by other scholars with languages that belong to Dyen's Moluccan Linkage include those in the 'Bima-Sumba Group' (classified as West Indonesian), the 'Ambon-Timor Group' and the 'Sula-Batjan Group' and the 'Kowiai subgroup of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea Group', languages of all of which appear in the Moluccan Linkage. Names of languages in the Moluccan Linkage are repeated below [in brackets] to show their place in this more general classification; for cross reference to their place in the Moluccan Linkage, the numbers assigned to these languages in the list above are again assigned within the brackets below.

Bima-Sumba Group:

1. Bima:
    a. Sanggar
    b. Bima, with the dialect Komodo
    c. Kolo
    d. Toloweri
2. Manggarai, the central dialect of which is called Ruteng
3. Ngada-Endeh:
    a. Ngada
    b. [3. Endeh] :
        i. Djau:
            a. Djau
            b. Ngao
        ii. Aku:
            a. Aku
            b. Tanah Kunu

[8. Sumba] :
    a. East group:
        i. Melolo
        ii. Lendi (Rendi)
        iii. Waidjelu
        iv. Massokarera
    b. West group:

i. Mamboru (Memboro)

ii. Anakalang

iii. Wanukaka

iv. Laura (Loura)

v. Wajewa

vi. Lauli

vii. Laboja (Lamboja)

viii. Kodi (Kudi)

ix. Lolina

[7. Havunese]

Ambon-Timor Group, with various subgroups:

Sikka-Solor Subgroup:

[1. Sikka]

[2. Solor]:

a. West Solor:

i. Laä́n

ii. Bari

iii. Eon

b. Central Solor (Takä́)

c. East Solor:

i. Belang

ii. Kluang

iii. Lerek

iv. Lamatukan

v. Lodobelolon

East Timor Subgroup:

[4. Tettum]

4. Tukudede

5. Mambai

6. Idaté

Vaikenu (Timol) Subgroup, said to be closely similar to the l-group of Roti dialects below:

7. Oikusi

8. Ambenu

9. Amfuang

10. Amakono

West Timor Subgroup:

11. West Amarasi

12. East Amarasi

13. Amanubang

14. Tabenu

15. Amabi

16. Belu

Kupang Subgroup:

17. Kupang

Roti Subgroup:

18. Roti (Rotti), spoken on Roti Island, immediately southwest of Timor, dialects

of which are said to differ markedly:

- a. r-dialects:
  - i. Unale
  - ii. Ti
  - iii. Termanu (Pada)
  - iv. Renggou (Ringgou)
- b. l-dialects:
  - i. Dengka
  - ii. Ba'a
  - iii. Bokai
  - iv. Bilba
  - v. Kolbaffo

Wetar Subgroup, spoken on Wetar Island, just north of Timor:

19. Iliwaki

20. Tutunohan

21. Limera

22. Hahutan

23. Welemur

24. Galoli, spoken on Timor

Roma Subgroup:

25. Roma, on Roma Island, northeast of Wetar

Kisar Subgroup:

[6. Kisar]:

a. Oirata
b. Kisar
Leti Subgroup:
[5. Leti] :
a. Lire Leti:
  i. Leti
  ii. Moa
  iii. Lakor
b. Literi Lagona:
  i. Luang
  ii. Sermata
  iii. Babar
  iv. Iliara
  v. Manowui
  vi. Wetoki
  vii. Letwurung
  viii. Kokowari
  ix. Anlutur
  x. Tepa
  xi. Imroin
  xii. Tela'a

Damar Subgroup, spoken on the string of small islands of the same names lying north and east of Roma, north of the eastern tip of Timor:

26. South Damar

27. North Damar

28. Te'un

29. Nila

30. Serua

Tanimbar Subgroup:

[11. Jamden]

[10. Fordat] :

  a. Fordat

  b. Molu

  c. Sera

  d. Selaru

  e. Maktian

  f. Selvasan

Kei (Kai) Subgroup:

[9. Kei] :

  a. Ewab

  b. Kei Tanimbar (Atnebar)

  c. Ta'am

  d. Kur

Aru (Djuëri) Subgroup, spoken on the Aru Islands, east of the Kai Islands and south of the neck of West New Guinea:

31. Warilau is said to be divergent from 32-43 below, which may represent dialects of one language — a different language from Warilau

32. Kola

33. Udjir

34. Wamar

35. Trangan

36. Kerei (Krei)

37. Kobro'or

38. Koba

39. Workai

40. Lola

41. Mairiri

42. Watulai

43. Komfana (Kongampani)

Kimnavo Subgroup, spoken on Buru Island, west of Ceram; any or all of these may represent [16. Buru], listed in the Moluccan Linkage, above.

44. Masarete

45. Waesama

46. Kajeli

47. Lisela

Ambelau Subgroup, spoken on Ambelau, a tiny island off the southeast coast of Buru:

48. Ambelau

West Ceram Subgroup:

[12. Ambonese], spoken on Ambon Island, adjacent small islands to the east, and adjacent coastal Ceram, has the following dialects in addition to those listed above:

a. Kaitetu

b. Liang, known on Ceram as Bahasa Eti

c. Hatu
f. Liliboi
g. Alang
h. Wakasihu

49. Soow Huhelia, spoken on Manipa Island, west of Ceram

50. Manipa, also spoken on Manipa

51. Boana, spoken on Boana Island, west of Ceram

52. Hoamoal, spoken on part of Boana and on Kelang Island, south of Boana.

Ceram Subgroup of the West Ceram Subgroup, spoken on the western half of Ceram; on the basis of recent fieldwork by Indonesian linguists, it is known that at least six different languages are spoken in the area, but the Indonesian list of six languages only partially overlaps in language names with the language names previously listed for the area; the six clearly identified as separate languages are:

53. Luhu (Alifuru, Luhu-Piru-Batumerah), of which the Batumerah dialect is also spoken on Ambon Island

54. Iha

55. Kaibubu

56. Kamariang

57. Lisabata

58. Amahai

Some of the remaining names may represent additional separate languages; others are probably synonymous with — or dialects of — the languages named above:

59. Sapolewa
    a. Lumasoal
    b. Riring
    c. Lohia
    d. Nuruë̆
    e. Buria
    f. Manusa Manuwe
    g. Murikau
    h. Huku
    i. Kawa (distinguished from the Kawa under Tala, below)
    j. Murinaten
    k. Nikulukan
    l. Wakolo-Patahuë̆

60. Tala (Wemale)
    a. Hunitetu
    b. Ahiolo
    c. Sumite
    d. Wasia
    e. Senahu

   f. Sahulau
   g. Mani
   h. Uli (Soahuwe)
   i. Kawa (Nutetu Sepa)
   j. Nutetu Tala
   k. Tomuala
   l. Marehunu
   m. Rumaheler
   n. Lasahata
   o. Sisiulu
   p. Kasieh
   q. Saweli
   r. Nukuhai
   s. Horali

61. Elpaputih
62. Lima
63. Hulung
64. Seruawan
65. Nuniali
66. Taluti
67. Horuru
68. Nuaulu
69. Jahalatane

70. Waelulu

71. Loun

72. Asilulu

East Ceram Subgroup, spoken on the eastern half of Ceram, on the Seram Laut and the Watubela Islands to the southeast of Ceram, and on the northern part of the Bomberai Peninsula of West New Guinea:

73. Wahai, listed as a separate language on a recent Indonesian list, is probably synonymous with Manusela, shown in the same area on earlier maps as a cover term for the following dialects:

    a. Manusela
    b. Saunulu
    c. Laha
    d. Hatumeten
    e. Nusawele (Nusawilih)
    f. Hatuolo
    g. Huaulu
    h. Waherama

74. Atiahu

75. Bobot

76. Uhei Kachlakin

77. Seran (Ceram)

78. Silen

79. Ntau

80. Hatuë

81. Seti
82. Boti
83. Bengoi
84. Hoti
85. Isal
86. Liambata (Lenkaitahe)
87. Kelimuri
88. Tihoru
[15. Bonfia]

Languages of the Onin Subgroup of the East Ceram Subgroup are spoken on the Bomberai Peninsula of West New Guinea; they include besides [17. Sekar] of the Moluccan Linkage:

89. Onin (600 speakers)
90. Arguni (200 speakers)
91. Bedoanas (250 speakers)
92. Erokwanas (250 speakers)
93. Uruangnirin (250 speakers).

Nikuda, Sepa, Patipi and Ogar shown on other lists as spoken in the same area as 89-93, above, may be synonymous with names 91-93 or may represent additional dialects or languages.

94. Banda (Eli-Elat) spoken on the eastern side of Kai Besar in the Kai Islands is treated as constituting a separate subgroup of the Ceram Subgroup of the East Ceram Subgroup.

95. Geser, shown on a recent Indonesian map as a separate language spoken on the western end of Ceram and on the Seram Laut Islands, may represent a single language earlier identified as the Goram (Gorong) Subgroup of the Ceram Subgroup of languages, spoken also on the Watubela Islands:

a. Goram Laut
b. Mina mina gorong
c. Snabi Watubela, including Kasiui and Wesi (Esiriun)
d. Ti o'or

In addition to the Ambon-Timor Subgroup above, a Sula-Batjan Subgroup of East Indonesian may also be related to the Moluccan Linkage by the inclusion of one of its languages —Sobojo— among those of the Moluccan Linkage. The Sula-Batjan Subgroup is subclassified as follows:

Taliabu Subgroup, spoken on Taliabu of the Sula Islands:

[14. Sobojo (Sebojo)]
96. Mange'e
97. Kadai
98. Talo
99. Seho
100. Biha
101. Samada
102. Mbono (Bono)

Sanana Subgroup:

103. Mangole, on Mangole of the Sula Islands:

a. Tjapalulu

  - b. Ulfola
  - c. Mangole
  - d. Waitina

104. Sanana, on Sanana of the Sula Islands:

  - a. Pohi Eja
  - b. Sanana
  - c. Falahu
  - d. Bega
  - e. Fatje
  - f. Wajgaj
  - g. Kebau
  - h. Molbufa
  - i. Fukuwe'u

Batjan - Obi Subgroup:

105. Batjan, spoken on Batjan Island, just east of southern Halmahera

106. Obi (Ombi), on the Obi Islands south of Batjan.

South Halmahera and West New Guinea

Esser and, after him, other Dutch and Indonesian scholars treat as a subgroup of Eastern Indonesian the Austronesian languages of South Halmahera and West New Guinea. Grace (1955) does not include languages spoken in this area in his Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group, which does however, include the Austronesian languages of Australian New Guinea and Papua.

The languages of South Halmahera, West New Guinea, and the intervening islands are placed in more than one subgroup in Dyen's classification. Only two of these languages, Sekar and Kuiwai, are included in a subgroup which includes other Indonesian languages -- the Moluccan Linkage above. Nevertheless, a pair of subgroups (the Sarmic Hesion and the Geelvink Hesion), and also a pair of languages that are 'ungrouped' (Arguni and Kasira) have their highest percentage of shared basic vocabulary with Sekar in the Moluccan Linkage. The third ungrouped language -- Waropen -- has its highest percentage with the Geelvink Hesion, which, in turn, has its highest percentage -- among languages that do belong to some group -- with Sekar.

Bigic Cluster

1. Bulic Cluster

    1. Buli, spoken in South Halmahera

    2. Minyafuin (Bahasa Gebi), spoken on Gebe Island, between southern Halmahera and Waigeo Island

2. As, spoken on the western tip of the 'Birdshead' (Vogelkop) of West New Guinea.

3. Biga, spoken on Wakde Island, off the Sarmi Coast of northeastern West New Guinea.

Other dialect or language names associated with those in the Bulic Cluster include those in the 'South Halmahera Subgroup' of the 'South Halmahera-West New Guinea Subgroup,' but only some of those of the 'Nufoor Subgroup' of the 'West New Guinea Subgroup'.

South Halmahera Subgroup:

Wajamli is said to be a dialect of Buli

1. Sawai
2. Patani
3. Maba, including Bitjoli
4. Weda
5. Gane
6. East Makian, spoken on the eastern half of Makian Island, just west of the neck of the southern peninsula of Halmahera
7. West Makian, spoken on the western half of Makian Island
8. Kajoa, spoken on Kajoa Island, just south of Makian.

The non-Nufoor part of the Nufoor Subgroup — all of which are spoken on islands just west of the Vogelkop of West New Guinea, includes, besides Gebe:

1. Bo'o
2. Kofiau
3. Miso'ol (Misol)
4. Waigeo:
    a. Amber
    b. Saonek
    c. Waigeo
5. Salawati.

Dyen's Hollandia Subfamily (1,000 speakers in the Hollandia District of West New Guinea) consists of:

1. Tobatic Subfamily

1. Tobati (Yotafa), spoken in two villages, Tobati and Enggaros, on Yotafa Bay

2. Kajupulau

2. Ormu

Dyen had two lists for Tobati: (a) one collected by George Grace in fieldwork in 1956 and labelled Tobati because Tobati is the larger of the two villages and was the name for the language commonly used by the Dutch in 1956 and (b) a list given by a Dutch missionary, G. L. Bink, Lijst van woorden . . . der Karau Jotafa, bewoners der Humboltsbaai. . . , Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde 65. 59-92, 1902, labelled Yotafa (Jotafa) after the native name of the bay on which their villages are situated. Grace's fieldwork showed no dialect differentiation between the two villages in which this language is spoken. But Dyen seems not to have been aware of this at the time he made his lexicostatistic comparisons. The result of Dyen's comparison of the two lists which in fact represent the same language is startling; the same dialect of the same language shares only 33.8% of the basic vocabulary with itself, instead of the expectable 100%. At least two interpretations of this result are possible: (1) that the language has changed 66% of the listed basic vocabulary in the half century which intervened between the time when the Dutch missionary obtained the first list and the time when George Grace obtained the second list (this seems unlikely); or (2) the discrepancy can be ascribed to one or another or both of the occasional shortcomings encountered in lexicostatistic work. Adequate equivalents for the test list items may not have been obtained on one or the other lists. And/or cognate root morphemes may not have been recognized because they were embedded in longer forms which were not parallel in the two lists. (Grace reports an unusual degree of morphological complexity in the Tobati = Yotafa language, such that his eliciting obtained long lexical-like sequences, apparently of several morphemes each; and all of the morphemes in such lexical sequences could not be surely segmented on the basis of brief field work.)

[After this section had been written, Dyen added an Appendix in IUPAL 19 (pp. 57-60, 1965) in which his 'main classification' is slightly revised by new figures for cognate percentages for the languages spoken along the north coast of New Guinea. For the Hollandia Subfamily the new percentages resulted in a reclassification of Kajupulan as a dialect of Tobati, rather than as a separate language, and made it possible that 'Yotafa could be another dialect of the Tobati language'. Dyen's explantion of the variation from the original result is that his 'earlier unfamiliarity with these languages and the manner in which the list entries had been made combined to produce the surprising error in the percentages'. Dyen points out that 'the overall change in the classification proves to be relatively small', and "It is important to view the percentages as approximate representations of the relations between the languages. ...The procedure in the comparison probably tends to keep most of the percentages in their proper relation." In addition to the revision within the Hollandia Subfamily, the Bigic Cluster, above, was reclassified as a Subfamily, rather than a Cluster, with the four languages included now standing as coordinate members. The refiguring also 'appears to suggest a closer relationship of the Sarmic and Geelvink groups as well as Waropen [--all below --] with the Moluccan Linkage ... than has thus far come to light'.]

Dyen's Sarmic Hesion [reclassified as a Subfamily rather than a Hesion], spoken on the Sarmi Coast and adjacent Wakde Island:

1. Sobeic Subfamily, on Wakde Island
    1. Sobei
    2. Moar
2. Tarpic Subfamily, on the Sarmi Coast
    1. Tarpia (Tarfia)
    2. Bonggo
    3. Anus

Capell lists two other names in the Sarmi area: Armopa and Wakde, which may be synonymous with either Moar, above, or Biga in the Bigic Cluster, since both are spoken on Wakde Island.

Dyen's Geelvink Hesion, spoken on the coast of and on islands in Geelvink Bay:

1. Biakic Subfamily (40,000 speakers, of whom half are literate in Numfor and also in Bahasa Indonesia, which is the official lingua franca and medium of education)

    1. Biak, spoken on Biak Island

2. Numfor (Nufoor), spoken on Numfoor Island, surrounding small islands, and the adjacent coast of Vogelkop

2. Wandamic Subfamily

1. Wandamen (Wondama, Windesi, Bentuni-Wamesa): spoken on the southwest side of Geelvink Bay by 14,000 people, of whom about a quarter are literate in Wandamen and almost half are literate in Bahasa Indonesia

2. Japen, spoken on Japen Island

3. Kurudu, spoken on Kurudu (Koeroedoe) Island between the eastern tip of Japen Island and the mainland

Waropen, spoken on the east side of Geelvink Bay is 'ungrouped' by Dyen; about one quarter of its 6,000 speakers are literate in Bahasa Indonesia.

The languages of the Geelvink Hesion and Waropen are included in the 'West New Guinea Subgroup' of the 'South Halmahera-West New Guinea Subgroup of East Indonesian' mentioned above. The West New Guinea Subgroup is further subdivided into four subgroups: (1) a Nufoor Subgroup, including besides Gebe and those languages listed above as possibly most closely related to Gebe and the rest of the Bigic Cluster, a Nufoor Proper Subgroup consisting of the language Numfor (Nufoor); (2) a Biak Subgroup consisting of Biak and what may or may not be separate languages spoken on adjacent Supiori and Padeaido Islands; (3) a Windesi Subgroup, including Wandamen, Japen, Kurudu, and Waropen, and (4) a Kuiwai Subgroup, including Kuiwai, which belongs to Dyen's Moluccan Linkage. Additional language and dialect names for each of these subgroups are listed below.

Nufoor (Numfor, Numfoor, Noemfoor, Mafoor) Subgroup:

Numfor dialects include:

a. Kamer
b. Mios Num
c. Mios Wa'ar
d. Monoarfu
e. Rumberpon
f. Vogelkop dialect
g. Mapia

Biak Subgroup:

Biak dialects are listed as:

a. Wadibu
b. Opiaref
c. Ariom
d. Mandusir
e. Fairi
f. Bosnik
g. Sundei
h. Sampori (Mokmer)
i. Jenures
j. Sorrido
k. Penasifu
l. Padoa

m. Samberi

n. Wardo

o. Mofu

p. Sorendidori

q. Warsa

r. Dwar

s. Sor

t. Wari

u. Korim

Supiori dialects are listed as:

a. Sowek

b. Korrido

c. Wabudori

d. Wafordori

Padaido (Padeaido, Padaidori) dialects are listed as:

a. Padaidori

b. Jeri

c. Bromsi

Windesi (Windessi) Subgroup:

Wandamen dialects probably include, besides those listed above also used as alternate names for Wandamen, Dasener, Ambumi (Waropen of Wandamen Bay) and Umar.

Waropen dialects include:

a. Waropen Kai

b. Napan

c. perhaps Mo'or, spoken on adjacent Mo'or Islands.

The following are spoken on Japen Island, besides Japen; they may or may not all be dialects of Japen:

a. Wo'oi

b. Jobi

c. Serui

d. Pom

e. Ansus.

Kuiwai Subgroup: Capell (1962) lists in the same group as Kuiwai only two other languages:

Irahutu (3,850 speakers),

Nabi (550 speakers).

Salzner (1960) lists the following additional names in the Kuiwai Subgroup, any or all of which may represent dialects of Kuiwai:

Lowai

Namatote

Mangawitu

Aiduma

Kajumerah

Triton Bay

Tjirerau

Busamma

Lakahia

Tarera

Kasira, identified only as spoken in West New Guinea, is 'ungrouped' by Dyen.

Arguni, spoken on the western end of the Bombarai Peninsula, is also 'ungrouped' by Dyen.

Northern Indonesian

Northern Indonesian, often referred to as a Philippine 'branch', Philippine languages, or Philippine-type languages, includes besides languages actually spoken in the Philippine Islands, the Austronesian languages of Formosa, northern Borneo, northern Celebes; and Palau and Chamorro spoken in Micronesia in the Palau and Mariana Islands, respectively.

The Northern Indonesian languages bear subrelationship to each other and to other Austronesian languages in the following more complex classification, when classified hierarchically, according to lexicostatistic evidence, as they are by Dyen (1963).

In this hierarchy, 'Austronesian' is the class of all languages in the family. Relatively few Northern Indonesian languages remain so ungrouped with other languages in the family that they fall directly under the top 'Austronesian' rubric; two of the Formosan languages do so (Atayalic Subfamily).*

What remains after the languages that are otherwise ungrouped are separated from the rest of Austronesian is the vast majority of languages in the family at the next lower rubric of the hierarchy, the Malayopolynesian Linkage (in a specialized sense, not to be confused with the usual synonymy: Malayo-Polynesian = Austronesian). Most languages under this rubric (Malayopolynesian Linkage) are further grouped or subgrouped, but some few are not. There are three Northern Indonesian languages that fall directly under the Malayopolynesian Linkage without being further subgrouped (Palau and Chamorro in Micronesia, and Tontemboan in northern Celebes).

---

* In IUPAL 19 (1965, p.56) Dyen adds another Formosan group expected to fall directly under Austronesian -- Tsouic, consisting of Tsou, Saaroa and Kanabu.

There are other Northern Indonesian languages that fall under this relatively high rubric (Malayopolynesian Linkage) after being subgrouped under a relatively low rubric, the East Formosan Hesion.

Most Northern Indonesian languages fall under this relatively high rubric (Malayopolynesian Linkage) after being grouped under an hierarchically intermediate rubric (Hesperonesian Linkage) and further subgrouped under a relatively low rubric (Northwest Hesion): all the languages of the Philippines, and some of the languages of north Borneo and northern Celebes.

Other languages of north Borneo and northern Celebes also fall under the same relatively high rubric (Malayopolynesian Linkage), and are also grouped under the same intermediate rubric (Hersperonesian Linkage), but are not further subgrouped under a relatively low rubric in the classificatory hierarchy. Hence their nearest relatives are somewhat distant relatives — those at the hierarchically intermediate or Hesperonesian Linkage level.

Northern Indonesian languages are listed below in a general north to south, as well as west to east order, under Dyen's classificatory rubrics.

Atayalic Subfamily (spoken in Formosa):

1. Atayal (Tayal)
2. Seedik (Sedik, Se'edeq)

Atayal dialects include: Ulay, Payasan, Mekaran, Kinaji, Gaogan (Graungan), Shkaro (Skaro), Shkayau (Skayau), Salaman, Malepa, Haku, Baibara, and Nano.

Seedik dialects include Tosai and Tansa.

East Formosan Hesion

1. Ami
2. Paiwan
3. Bunun (Vonun)
4. Thao (Tsuo)

Ami dialects include Batoran and Kaigan Ami.

Paiwan dialects include Cha-kuvu Kuvum, Pakurukae, and Parizarizao.

Bunun dialects include Randai, Tandai, Shibukun (Sibukun).

Other Austronesian languages spoken on Formosa include:

1. Saisiyat (Saiset)
2. Suisha
3. Tsarisen (Tsalisen), with dialects Shimo Sansha and Kairai
4. Piyuma (Puyuma)
5. Yami, spoken on the tiny northernmost island of the Batan Islands at the northern end of the Philippines.

The languages of the Philippine Islands and their classifications by Conklin (1955), Thomas and Healey (1962) and Dyen (1963) are listed in 1. 4.

We list here only those languages for which dialect names (other than purely directional or topographic features as Northern versus Southern, Upland versus Lowland) are added — largely from Conklin (1955), or for which additional information in the form of alternate names, numbers of speakers (largely based on the 1948 census), or suggested subclassifications, is added.

Mesophilippine Hesion

Bisayan (Visayan) is said to have five million speakers, counting those who speak it as a second language, but sources are not clear as to whether this figure refers only to speakers of Cebuan Bisayan (the prestige Bisayan language) or to the total of speakers of all the languages in the Bisayan Cluster (plus or minus other languages spoken in the Bisayan Islands).

Ilongo (Hiligaynon) is said to have two million speakers.

Ratagnon (a dialect of Cuyunon (Kuyonon) in Dyen's classification, but a separate, closely related, language in Conklin's) has 2,000 speakers.

Mamanwa (Mamanua, Manmanua) in Agusan and Suriago Provinces in northeastern Mindanao has 1,000 speakers.

Tagalog is spoken by 3,730,028 people (1948 census), possibly including those who speak it as a second language. Names of Tagalog dialects include: Bataan, Bulakan, Tanay-Paete, Maynila (Manila), Batangan (Batangas, Batangueño), Tayabas, Palanan, and possibly Faranan and Baluga.

Bikol (Bicol, Vicol), spoken by 2,000,000 people; dialects on Luzon include: Naga, Buhi, Baao, and Bato. A Catanduanes dialect is spoken on Catanduanes Island, and another dialect, Albay-Sorsogon is spoken on Luzon, Ticao, Burias, Masbate and Samar Islands.

Mansaka (Mandaka), 35,403 speakers on southern Mindanao; dialect names include: Mansaka, Mandaka, Pagsupan, Magosan (Managosan), Karaga.

Tagakaolo (Tagakolu, Kalagan), of which there were 21,000 speakers in Catabato and Davao Provinces, Mindanao, in 1942, has two dialects (Tagakaolo and Loac).

Hanunóo (6,000 speakers) has dialects Waigan, Kagankan, Wawan, Binli, and Gubatnon.

Iráya dialects include Alag-Bako, Dulangan, Pagbahan (Abra-de-Ilog). [Dyen 1965 groups Iraya and Alangan in an Alangic Hesion within Irayic, now a Hesion.]

Pula, spoken on Mindoro by 1,000 people, forms with Nauhan a Pulic Subfamily of the Irayic Cluster in Dyen's classification. Tadianan, Durugmun and Buctulan may be synonymous with Pula.

Subanun (Sabanun, Subano) dialect names include Dapitan, Sindangan, Buluan-Kipit, Tukuran, Sibuguey, Malindang, Siokun. Subanun is spoken by 72,950 people.

Dibabaic Subfamily:

Conklin lists as three dialects of one Manobo language: Manobo proper (Agusan Manobo), Debabaon (Dibaboan, Dibabawon) and Libagnon. There are 73,115 speakers of Conklin's 'Manobo', but information is not available to show which of these speak Dibaboan or Agusan Manobo (separate languages in Dyen's Dibabaic Subfamily) and which speak Central Manobo (a language in Dyen's Bukidnic Subfamily) or Cotabato Manobo (a fourth separate Manobo language within the Sulic Hesion).

Palawanic Subfamily:

Batak (Babuyan Batak) is spoken on Palawan.

Tagbanuwa dialects include Central Tagbanuwa (Apurawano, Apurahuano), Tangdulanen, and Silanganen (Bulalacaunos); there are 7,000 Tagbanuwa speakers.

Bukidnic Subfamily:

Bukidnon (Binokid) has 40,539 speakers; dialects are Bukidnon and Banuauon (Banawaw, Banuaon, Banuanon).

Pampangan is spoken by 641,795 people on Luzon.

Maranao (Lanao, Illanos), spoken in the area of Lake Lanao on Mindanao, has dialects Maranao (Maranaw, Rranao) and Ilanun (Illanun, Lanun, Illanos). Maranao is spoken by about 250,000 people, largely in the Province of Lanao on Mindanao. Maguindanao (Magindanao, Magindanau, Magindanaw), spoken by 150-190,000 people on Mindanao in Cotabato Province, is said to be so closely related to Maranao as to be almost mutually intelligible. Taw Sug (Tausug, Sulu, Joloano Sulu) spoken on Palawan in two dialects (Inland Sulu and Coast Sulu) is also said to be very closely related to Maranao.

Casiguran Dumagat and Baler Dumagat

Dumagat is used as a cover term for at least four groups of people, speaking what are treated by Conklin (1955) as four dialects of one language. Conklin labels the dialects by their location—Sierra Madre on Luzon, Polillo on Polillo Island, Alabat on Alabat Island, and Kalawat on Kalawat Island. Dyen classifies Casiguran Dumagat and Baler Dumagat as separate languages, which do not form a group; Casiguran and Baler are the towns on Luzon in which Dyen's word lists were collected—they may or may not both represent Conklin's 'Sierra Madre (Luzon) dialect'. T. E. Macleod in an unpublished S. I. L. manuscript, The Phonemes of Umirey Dumagat, reports four 'mutually unintelligible dialects', hence four languages:

"The Umirey Dumagat dialect is spoken by an estimated three thousand negritoes living along the east coast and on the slopes of the eastern coastal range of Luzon. The northern limit of the dialect is Baler, Quezon Province, and the southern limit has been estimated to be at Labayat, twenty kilometers south of Infanta, Quezon Province. The western limit is constituted by the settled areas of the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Rizal Provinces. Approximately three hundred of these people live on Polillo, a large island lying off Infanta. The geographical centre of the dialect appears to be the Umirey River area."

"Although we have heard several reports that there are monolingual speakers, the majority seem to be quite fluent in Tagalog as well as Dumagat. The people call themselves Dumagats but differentiate the dialect by the alternate names of tagi keelogen source Umirey or tagi bulus source flowing. Two other dialects are tagi ilog and tagi depoinga with numbers estimated at three hundred and one hundred respectively. The Anglats, a fourth dialect, have been reported as living along the Agos River which flows into the sea near Infanta, having its headwaters to the northwest. All four dialects are mutually unintelligible."

Yakan is spoken by 30,348 people on Basilan Island.

Tiruray is spoken by 15,919 people on Mindanao.

Murutic Subfamily and Dusun:

Dutch and Indonesian linguists list the three languages of the Murutic Subfamily in two separate subgroups of the 'Borneo Group', as mentioned above; Dusun is listed in a third subgroup of the 'Borneo Group'. A fourth subgroup, consisting of only one language, Kuiyan, may also be closely related to languages in the Philippine Hesion. In the list below of the languages and dialects of each of these subgroups language names which appear in Dyen's classification are enclosed in brackets.

Tidong (Tidung) Subgroup:

[1. Bolongan (Bulungan)]

[2. Tarakan]:

    a. Sesajap

    b. Simbakong

    c. Sibuku

    d. Nunukan.

[Murut] Subgroup:

1. Semambu:

    a. Rundum Murut

    b. Sapulot Murut

2. Tawan Murut

3. Kolur Murut, including Tagal and Lun Dayoh

4. Bol Murut

5. Peluan

6. Tengara

7. Temogun

8. Keningau Murut (Dabai).

Kuiyan Subgroup:

1. Kuiyan.

Dusun-Orang Sungei Subgroup:

[1. Dusun]:

    a. Tambunan Dusun:
        i. Tambunan Dusun
        ii. Tega
        iii. Ranau Dusun
    b. Kiau Dusun
    c. Segama Dusun
    d. Tambunwa, including Dumpa
    e. Marudu Dusun, including Banggi Dusun
    f. Rungu
    g. Tempazuk Dusun
    h. Tenggilan Dusun
    i. Tuaran Dusun
    j. Putatan Dusun
    k. Papar Dusun
    l. Bundu Dusun
    m. Membakut Dusun

2. Orang Sungei (Buludupi)

3. Ilanun

Bilic Subfamily:

Bilaan (Tagalagad, Bilanes) is spoken by 50,666 people in Catabato Province in southern Mindanao and on Sarangani and Balut Islands in three dialects: Bilaan (Biraan, Baraan), Buluan (Buluanon, Buluanes) and Balud (Sarangani, Tumanao).

Ivatan is spoken by 11,000 people on three of the Batan Islands, 150 miles north of Luzon. Three dialects are distinguished by island provenience: Batan (Northern Ivatan), Itbayat, and Sabtang (Southern Ivatan).

Cordilleran Hesion

Ibaloi (Inabaloi) has as dialects Nabaloi and possibly Iwaak.

North Cordilleran Cluster

Estimates vary from 8,000 to 13,500 for the number of speakers of the languages of the Isneg Hesion, or of that part of it which is treated as one language called Apayao (Apayaw, Isneg, Isnag) by Conklin (1955) and by Elmer Wolfenden in Isneg Phonemes, an unpublished S.I.L. manuscript (1963). Conklin lists four dialects: Tawit (Tauit, Itawi), Magapta, Mandaya (Northwest Apayao) — not to be confused with the Mandaya of Mindanao, which belongs in the Mesophilippine Hesion — and Talifugu - Ripang (Southeastern Apayo). The first two of these — Itawi and Magapta — are said by Wolfenden to represent one dialect, which he calls Kabugao (Central Apayao); Itawi and Kabugao (as a dialect of Bayag) appear as separate languages in Dyen's classification.

Ibanag, spoken on Luzon and Babuyan, is variously estimated to be spoken by from 150,000 to 300,000 people. Ibanag dialects include besides

Ibanag, Itawes of which there are 2,000 speakers in Cagayan Province, and Western Agta (1,000 speakers) said to have over 80% cognate density with Ibanag.

Gaddang dialects as listed by Conklin include Gaddang, Maddukayang, Katalangan, Iraya (not the Iraya of the Mesophilippine Hesion, spoken on Mindoro) and Yogad; Yogad is treated as a separate language by Dyen. Here, as for other languages with several dialects listed by Conklin, the 'dialects' might well have been elevated to the status of 'separate languages' had Dyen's lexicostatistic test been used for determining 'separate language'. Estimates of the number of speakers of Gaddang as a whole vary from 16,704 to 28,150.

Ilocano is spoken by about three million people (probably including those who speak it as a second language).

Kalinga (Kinalinga, self designation) is spoken by 41,000 people in the Kalinga Sub-Province of the Mountain Province, northern Luzon. Conklin lists the following dialects: Ablig-Saligsig, Kalagua (Calauas, Lalaua), Nabayugan, Mangali-Lubo, Lubuagan, Sumadel, and Balbalasang - Ginaang (Guinanaang, Giná'an). Babalasang, Lubo, Mallango, and Lubuagan are dialects of one language (Babalasang) in Dyen's classification.

Kankanay dialect names in addition to those listed in Dyen's classification as given in 1.4 include Malaya Bakun, and probably Baukok (Amburayan); there are 91,461 Kankanay speakers.

Bontok and Bayyo (Bayo) which appear as separate languages in Dyen's Igorot Subfamily are classified by Conklin as dialects of one Bontok language, which also includes the dialects Central Bontok, of which there are 1,500 speakers of the sub-dialect spoken in Guinaang in the Sub-Province of Bontok in Mountain Province, Luzon; Kadaklan-Barlig; Tinglayan; and Bangad (Dananao); the total population for all the Bontok groups is variously estimated at between 21,000 and 32,000.

Besides Kiangan (Central Ifugao, Pure Ifugao, Quianganes, Gilipanes) and Mayaoyao (Mayoyao, Mayawyaw, Pungianes), which are classified by Dyen as separate languages in an Ifugao Subfamily, Conklin lists as dialects of one Ifugao language: Silipan (Sub-Ifugao, Alímit), Lagawe (Lagaui) and Tokukan-Asin (Western Ifugao). The total number of speakers of all of these is estimated to be between 70,000 and 80,000.

Isinai has 3,969 speakers.

Ilongot, which is 'ungrouped' in Dyen's Northwest Hesion, includes as dialects: Egongot, Italon, Iyongut, Ibalao (Ibilao), and Abaká (Abaca); there are 7,641 Ilongot speakers.

Languages not classified by Dyen now follow.

The number of Tinggian speakers on Luzon is variously estimated at 32,820 and 41,600.

Sambali (Sambal) classified as possibly of the Tagalog-type by Conklin, is spoken in three dialects: Iba, Bolinao, and Tino (Tina). There are 81,583 Sambali speakers.

Pangasinan is spoken by 515,158 people on Luzon.

Agta is listed by Conklin under Negrito, possibly including languages of both Tagalog-type and Iloko-type. Aside from Western Agta, listed as a dialect of Ibanag above, there are probably at least two other Agta languages spoken in Cagayan Province, northern Luzon: Central Agta, with 2,000 speakers, and Eastern Agta, with 1,000 speakers, reported by informants to be mutually unintelligible with Central Agta. The status of Atta with respect to Central Agta is unclear; the 500 speakers of Atta, of whom most adults are said to be bilingual in Ilocano, are presumably counted in the 2,000 speakers of Central Agta.

Samal (A'a Sama), spoken on Mindanao and the Sulu Islands, has two dialects, Land Samal and Sea Samal (Balangingi).

Bagobo dialects (20,892 speakers) are listed by Conklin as Bagobo, Gianga (Guianga, Guanga, Gulanga), Obo (Tagdapaya), and Eto (Atá), but Ata (Atá) is also listed by Conklin as a separate language (7,906 speakers) with dialects Dugbatang (Dugbatung) and Tugauanum (Tugauanon).

Mangguangan is spoken by 1,792 people on Mindanao.

Kulaman (Culamanes, Sarangani Manobo) is spoken by 3,600 people on Mindanao.

Sangir (Sangil, Sanggil, Sangihe), spoken by 75,000 people on the Sangi (Sangihe) Islands northeast of Celebes is a member — not subgrouped with other members — of Dyen's Hesperonesian Linkage. Sangir is placed by Dutch and Indonesian scholars in a Sangihe - Talaud Subgroup of 'Northwest Indonesian', subclassified as follows:

1. Talaud, spoken on the Talaud Islands, just northwest of Sangi Islands:
    a. Nenusa - Miangas

  b. Karakelong
  c. Salebabu
  d. Kaburuang

[2. Sangir]:
  a. Tabukan
  b. Manganitu:
    i. Manganitu
    ii. Tamako
    iii. Taruna
  c. Karakitang
  d. Siau
  e. Tahulandang

3. Bantik

4. Bentenan.

Other languages of North Celebes included in Dyen's Hesperonesian Linkage are the two below which form the Gorontalic Subfamily, which with the Philippine Hesion and Ilongot forms the Northwest Hesion:

1. Gorontalo, with 900,000 speakers in northern Celebes
2. Suwawa (Suwawa-Bunda, Bunda).

Dutch and Indonesian linguists place Gorontalo and Suwawa in a larger 'Gorontalo Subgroup' of 'Southwest Indonesian', subclassified as follows:

East Gorontalo:

1. Bulanga-Uki (Atinggola, Diu)

2. Kaidipan (Dio)

West Gorontalo:

Gorontalo (Dila) Subgroup:

[3. Gorontalo]

[4. Suwawa]

5. Limboto

6. Tilamuta

7. Kwandang

8. Sulamata

Bual Subgroup:

9. Bual (Buol, Bwo'ol, Dia), with 150,000 speakers.

The languages of the Dutch and Indonesian linguists' 'Tomini Subgroup', spoken on northern Celebes, are perhaps also most closely related to languages in Dyen's Northwest Hesion. These languages are:

1. Laudje (Tinombo, Ampibabo), 125,000 speakers
2. Tadjio (Ta'adjio, Adjio, Kasimbar), 100,000 speakers
3. Tomini (Tiadje, Tialo, Dondo)
4. Bolano (Boano, Djidja)
5. Tolitoli (Tontoli, Gage)
6. Umalasa (Nda'u)
7. Dampelasa (Dian)
8. Balaesan (Balaisang, Pajo)
9. Petapa (Lole, Tadje, Andje).

4.2. The sound systems of those languages given immediately below are representative of the languages of Indonesia. This sample shows a great deal of homogeneity in consonant systems and less homogeneity in their vowel systems. For both consonants and vowels, however, (but not for semivowels) the difference from one language to the next in the number of distinctions made is never greater than two. Thus, for voiceless stops, linear distinctions among voiceless consonants vary from a maximum of six (for Javanese) to a minimum of four (for Malay, Batak, Sundanese). The remainder in our sample — Sea Dayak, Balinese, Kerinchi, Havunese, Minangkabaw, Mentok-Malay, Buginese — share the mean number of five linear distinctions. Furthermore, all these languages distinguish voiced from voiceless oral stops. The linear distinctions for the consonants other than stops are: two fricatives (three for Havunese); four nasals (three for Batak); two laterals; two semivowels (four for Minangkabaw), and none for Batak, Havunese, and Mentok-Malay. Most languages in our sample share one common feature for vowels: they distinguish Front from Central from Back vowels — FCB at one or more tongue-heights. Javanese, according to Samsuri, has eight vowels at three tongue heights — (FB) over 2(FCB); but Javanese, according to Tjokronegoro, has five vowels at two tongue heights — 2(FB) over N. This vowel type — two front versus two back vowels, over a neutral vowel — is also that of Sea Dayak and Havunese. Seven vowels at four tongue heights — 3(FB) over N — is the vowel type for Batak. Kerinchi, Balinese, Malay,

Buginese, Minangkabaw share a 2(FCB) type — Front vowels versus Central vowels versus Back vowels at two tongue heights — while Mentok-Malay has 3(FCB) over N vowel type — three tongue heights which each distinguish Front, Central, and Back vowels over a lowest vowel which is neutral or non-contrastive in respect to Front-Back distinction.

Javanese inventory from Samsuri, Javanese Phonology (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1958):

p	**t**	**ṭ**	**č**	**k**	**ʔ**	**i**		**u**
b	**d**	**ḍ**	**ǰ**	**g**		**e**	**ə**	**o**
	s				**h**	**ɛ**	**a**	**ɔ**
m	**n**		**ñ**	**ŋ**				
	l	**r**						
w			**y**					

Balinese inventory after J. Kersten, Balische Grammatica (The Hague, 1948):

p	**t**	**č**	**k**	**ʔ**	**i**	**ə**	**u**
b	**d**	**ǰ**	**g**		**e**	**a**	**o**
	s			**h**			
m	**n**	**ñ**	**ŋ**				
	l	**r**					
w		**y**					

Sea Dayak, after N. C. Scott, A Dictionary of Sea Dayak (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1956):

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	ǰ	g		e		o
	s			h		a	
m	n	ň	ŋ				
	l	r					
w		y					

The Kerinchi inventory is excerpted from Jakub Isman, Kerinchi Phonology (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1958).

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i	ə	u
b	d	ǰ	g		e	a	o
	s			h			
m	n	ň	ŋ				
	l	ř					
w		y					

Stress is non-phonemic, occurring on word-final syllable. Two junctures occur, one being terminal (lower pitch and volume, and pause) and the other non-terminal (increased volume, and level or raised pitch with or without pause).

Distribution: All except /ʔ/ may occur in initial and medial positions, and all except /č, ǰ, b, d, g, ň, l/ may occur finally. Any combination of two of the following: Stops, Fricatives, Nasals, Liquids, may occur as initial clusters and only six geminates, bb, tt, dd, mm, yy, ll occur. /ʔ/ is always syllable final, and combines only with nasals which it precedes. /e / and

/o/ do not occur initially; all vowels may occur interconsonantly and all but /ə/ may appear in word-final position. Vowel clusters occur medially and finally.

Havunese inventory from M. C. Radjahaba, Havunese Phonemes (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1958):

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	ǰ	g		e		o
b'	d'	ǰ'	g'			a	
v	s			h			
m	n	ň	ŋ				
	l	r					

/b' d' ǰ' g'/ is a series of implosive voiced stops. The phonetic range of some the phonemes follow:

/k/	[ḳ, k̯]
/g/	[g̣, g̯]
/h/	[h, ɦ (voiced)]
/ŋ/	[ŋ̣, ŋ̯]
/r/	[r̃]
/i/	[i, y]
/e/	[e, ɛ, ə]
/o/	[o, ɔ]

Syllable types and their distribution are:

V (never initial)
CV (all positions) most frequent type
CVC (never final)
VC (only medial) rare.

Consonant clusters are all geminates, except /č, ʔ, s/, and all occur across morpheme boundaries. All vowels may occur in clusters across syllable boundary, with three- and four-vowel clusters having a low frequency of occurrence. Across word boundary, however, there may occur longer sequences of vowels, for example: /heleo ieie ai ne/ *watch the fire carefully*.

Three junctures are established, and they are:

(1) a minimal juncture, /, marking open transition without pause,

(2) suspensory juncture, //, marking pause with tone held constant and allophonic lengthening of contour final vowel,

(3) final juncture, #, marking pause with stepping down of tone.

Phoneme frequency:

(from high to low) e a i o n u r l k d d' t m p h v ŋ
ʔ ǰ' b' b ǰ g' ň g s č.

Minangkabaw inventory from Be Kim Hoa Nio, An Analysis of Minangkabaw, Phonology and a Morphological Grammar of the Verbs (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1961):

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i	ə	u
b	d	ǰ	g		e	a	o
	s			h			
m	n	ñ	ŋ				
	l	r					

Semi-vowels:

	w	y
	ə̭	ə̭ʰ

Buginese inventory after the phonemicization by Samsuri:

p	t	c	k	ʔ	i	ə	u
b	d	j	g		e	a	o
	s			h			
m	n	ñ	ŋ				
	l						
	r						
w		y					

The two series of four stops, the two fricatives / s, h/ , the four nasals, the two laterals and the two semivowels, occur initially and medially, but not finally. Only the glottal stop and the nasal /ŋ/ , among the consonants, occur finally. The glottal stop itself occurs medially and finally, while the vowels occur in all three positions.

Malay inventory is after Denzel Carr, the Prospect of Malay Orthographic Unification (Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 1951-1952):

p	t	t^y	k		i	ə	u
b	d	d^y	g		e	a	o
	s			h			
m	n	n^y	ŋ				
	l	r					
w		y					

The Batak inventory and discussion is from Maruli Butar-Butar, The Phonology of Batak (M. A. Thesis, Indiana, 1961):

p	t	c	k		i		u
b	d	j	g		e		o
	s			h	ɛ		ɔ
m	n		ŋ			a	
	l	r					

A phonetic description is given for each phoneme in Batak:

/p/ unreleased finally and unaspirated elsewhere.

/t/ unreleased finally and unaspirated elsewhere.

/k/ released or unreleased finally, For emphasis these stops may be aspirated finally.

/b,d,g/ are almost identical to the English voiced stops except that medially they are more fortis than the English counterparts.

/c/ and /j/ are more fronted and lenis than the English counterparts. For some speakers [z] is in free variation with [j].

/s/ is further back than the English counterpart.

/h/ is like the English /h/, except [ʔ] allophone occurs before a voiced consonant.

/m,n,ŋ/ are more lenis than English nasals, especially finally.

/l/ is like English l but unlike lengthened or velarized English l in final position.

/r/ is a trill. A sub-dialect considered inferior has a voiced velar fricative in place of the trill.

Unstressed vowels tend to centralize, are shorter before consonant clusters, and initially are often preceded by a glottal catch.

/i/ is high front unrounded vowel and is tense. It is higher than English /i/ in it.

/e/ is high front unrounded vowel and is lax but more tense than English /i/ in bit.

/ɛ/ is mid front unrounded vowel like English /e/ in get.

/a/ is a low central vowel. It varies from front to back and sometimes is almost like English /ə/.

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel and is tense.

/o/ is a high back rounded vowel and is tense.

The following consonants occur in word initial, medial, and final positions: /p, t,k, s, m, n,ŋ, l, r/, while /b, d, g, c, j, h/ occur in word initial and medial only. All vowels occur word initially, modially, and finally. Syllable patterns for Batak are V, CV, VC, CVC.

For the following consonant clusters limitations of occurrence are only given in relation to the word and not the syllable. No consonant clusters occur initially or finally. Vowel clusters occur in word initial, medial, and final positions.

/p/ and /k/ in first position may be followed by /p, t, s/;
/t/ by /t/,
/b/ by /b/,
/d/ by /d/,
/j/ by /j/.
/m/ by /p, s, m, r/, and
/n/ by /t, c, n/.
/r/ occurs in first position with all consonants in second position,
/l/ with all but /c, r/ in second position,
/n/ with all but /p, t, c, s/,
/s/ with all but /c, j, s, t/,
/h/ with all but /p, t, c, k, s, h/.
/c/ and /g/ do not occur in cluster with a following consonant.

Two vowels in a cluster are common, three vowels less common, and four vowels in only one case.

Sundanese inventory from Salamah Soedjono, Verb Morphology of the Sundanese Language (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1963).

b	t	č	k		i	ɨ	u
b	d	ǰ	g		e	ə	o
	s			h		a	
m	n	ň	ŋ				
	l	r					
w			y				

Mentok-Malay inventory from Abu Ubaidah Ali, The Phonology of Mentok-Malay (M.A. Thesis, Indiana, 1958):

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i	ə	u
b	d	ǰ	g			a	
	s			h			
m	n	ň	ŋ				
	l	r					

Juncture: // dangling pause with rising pitch,

# final pause with falling pitch.

Stress is not phonemic.

Distribution (Morpheme):

Universal: /p, t, k, s, h, m, n, ŋ, r, l, i, a, u, ə/,

Non-final: /b, d, č, ǰ, g, ň/,

Non-initial: /ʔ/.

Allophones:

/r/ uvular ~ retroflex

/i/ [i, e, i̭]

/u/ [u, o, ṷ]

Syllable Shape: (C) V (C), C includes nonsyllabic [i̯] and [u̯]. There are no intrasyllabic clusters, but numerous intersyllabic clusters.

The Maanyan language, spoken in Borneo, is grouped with Malagasy (an Indonesian Outlier on Madagascar); together they form the Malagasic Cluster. Their phonologies resemble those of other languages of Indonesia. Maanyan and Malagasy, however, have a series generating component of nasalization — alternatively treated as clusters of nasals plus stops at all points of articulation, mp, nt, nč, ŋk, mb, nd, nǰ, ŋg. Maanyan in addition has clusters of nasal plus /s/ and /r/.

The inventory for Maanyan is from Otto Chr. Dahl, Malgache et Maanjan, Oslo, Egede-Instituttet, 1951:

p	t		k	i	u
b	d	ǰ	g	e	a
	s		h		
m	n	nʸ	ŋ		
	l	r			
w		y			

The Malagasy inventory is after G. W. Parker, A Concise Grammar of the Malagasy Language, London, (1883):

p	t	č	k	i	o
b	d	ǰ	g	e	a
f	s				
v	z				

m n ŋ

l r

Cham from David L. Blood, Phonological Units in Cham, M.A. thesis, Indiana, 1963:

p t č k ʔ

p^h t^h $č^h$ k^h

b d

s h

m n ñ ŋ

l r

w y

i ɨ u

e ə o

ɛ a ɔ

Plus low versus non-low pitch, distributionally restricted.

Our sample of inventories continues below with languages which belong to Dyen's Philippine Hesion and concludes with Chamorro, which is 'ungrouped' in the Malayopolynesian Linkage.

Cagayan Negrito from William J. and Lynette F. Oates, The Phonemes of Central Cagayan Negrito, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p t k ʔ

b d g

f s h

v z

m n ŋ

l r

w y

i u

e o

a

Plus length.

Vowels never occur word initially.

Mamanwa from Doris Walker Blood, The 'Y' Archiphoneme in Mamanwa, AL 4.4.29, 1962:

p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g		e		o
	s		h		a	
	z			Plus stress /ˊ/.		
m	n	ŋ				
	l r					
w		y				

Helen Miller, Mamanwa Phonemes, S.I.L. manuscript, 1960, shows word medial clusters of nasals plus homorganic voiced stops which might alternatively be treated as a series of prenasalized stops.

Tagalog after Ernesto Constantino:

p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g		e		o
	s		h		a	
m	n	ŋ				
	l r					
w	y					

/e/ and /o/ occur only in Spanish loans.

Kalagan from Francis B. Dawson, The Phonemes of Kalagan, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	

	s		h	i	ɨ	u
m	n	ŋ		e		o
	l				a	
w	y			Plus length.		

/ᵽ/ has three allophones: [ᵽ] bilabial fricative, [p] bilabial stop, [f] labiodental fricative. Vowels never occur word initially; /e/ and /o/ never occur word finally or in vowel clusters. Consonants may occur in all positions and in clusters. /w/ and /y/ never occur as second member of a consonant cluster. /h/ neither occurs in consonant clusters nor in word-initial or word-final position.

Hanunóo from Harold C. Conklin, Hanunoo-English Dictionary, UCPL 91.1-290, 1953:

p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g			a	
	s		h	Plus /´/ stress,		
m	n	ŋ		/'/ secondary stress.		
	l r					
w	y					

Buhid from R. Marie Barham, The Phonemes of the Buhid (Mangyan) Language, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g		e		o
f	s		h		a	
m	n	ŋ				

l r

w y

Dibabawon from Jan Foster and Myrna Lou Barnard, Phonemic Statement and Proposed Orthography for Dibabawon, unpublished S. I. L. manuscript:

p t k ʔ i ɨ u

b d g a

s

m n ŋ

l r

w y

Maranao from Howard McKaughan (see *4.9*, below):

p t k ʔ i ɨ u

b d g a

s

m n ŋ

l r

Maguindanao from Ernest W. Lee, On Non-Syllabic High Vocoids in Maguindanao, Studies in Linguistics 16.3-4, 1962:

p t k i ɨ u

b d g a

s Plus /ˊ/ stress,

m n ŋ

l r

/ r / occurs in loanwords only, with [ř] -- in Maguindanao words -- being the intervocalic allophone of / d / . Both McKaughan (for Maranao), and Lee (for Maguindanao), treat non-syllabic high vocoids [w] and [y] as non-syllabic allophones of / u / and / i / respectively. With this solution, vowel clusters occur.

Umirey Dumagat from T. E. Macleod, The Phonemes of Umirey Dumagat, S.I.L. manuscript:

p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g		e	o
	s	h		a	ɔ
m	n	ŋ			
	l r				
w	y				

The Southern Ivatan dialect from Morris and Shirley Cottle, The Significant Sounds of Ivatan, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p	t	č	k	ʔ	i	ɨ	u
b	d	ǰ	g			a	
	s						
v							
m	n	ñ	ŋ				
	l r						
w	y						

Plus length for vowels and consonants.

Inabaloi, after D. Lee Ballard, Jr., Inabaloi I : Phonemes, S. I. L.

manuscript.

p	t	č	k̯		ḳ	ʔ	i	ɨ	o
b	d	ǰ		g				a	
	s					h			
m	n			ŋ					
	l r								
w	y								

For Isneg, Elmer Wolfenden gives the following inventory for Mandaya, Kabugao and Talifugu-Ripang, which he regards as one language (see page 66, above) spoken in three dialects which vary only in lexicon:

p	t	k	ʔ	i	ə	u
b	d	g		e	a	o
	s			Plus stress / ´/.		
m	n	ŋ				
	l r					
w	y					

Vowels do not occur initially. Stress is redundantly marked by vowel length and by lowering of pitch.

Yogad from Alan Healey, Notes on Yogad, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g		e		o
f	s		h		a	

m	n	ŋ
	r l	
w	y	

Consonant clusters include geminate clusters of stops, nasals, /f/, /s/, and /l/.

Ilocano from Leonard Bloomfield, Outline of Ilocano Syntax, Lg. 18. 193-200, 1942:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
	s		
m	n	ŋ	
	l r		

i	u
e	a

Plus stress /ˊ/, and phrase and sentence final junctures marked by pitch.

In addition, h and č are used in exclamations, and these two plus /f, v, ǰ, o/ are used in loan words. Ilocano vowels have also been presented, as by Howard McKaughan, as an asymetrical system of three high vowels, /i, ɨ, u/, over one low vowel, /a/.

Agta from Phyllis M. Healey, An Agta Grammar, Manila Bureau of Printing, 1960:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
f	s		h
v	z		
m	n	ŋ	
	l r		
w	y		

i		u
e		o
	a	

Plus long vowels:

i·		u·
	a·	

Kalinga from Richard C. Gieser, The Phonemes of Kalinga, Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 3, 1958:

p	t	k	?
b	d	g	
	s		
m	n	ŋ	
	l		
w	y		

i	u
	o
ˉ a	

/ ´/ stress

Bontoc from Lawrence A. Reid, Phonology of Central Bontoc, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 72, No. I, 1963:

p	t	k	?
b	d	g	
	s		
m	n	ŋ	
	r		
w	y		

i	o
e	a

Plus stress / ´/

Chamorro from William A. Seiden, Chamorro Phonemes, AL2:4.6-35, 1960:

p	t	c	k	?
b	d	ʐ	g	
f	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
	l r			
w	y			

i	u
e	o
æ	a

Plus:
/ ^/ primary stress
/ ˘/ unstressed
/ `/ secondary stress
/ +/ ,/||/ , / #/ , /↓/
junctures,

CHAM

4.3. Information on the sound system of Cham has been included in the preceding section (4.2), and the status of Cham as an Indonesian language has been discussed in Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1.4).

The Cham language is spoken by perhaps 150,000 people in Cambodia and Vietnam. More than 100,000 Cham speak the dialect of Cambodia. The dialect represented in this chapter is that of the province of Ninh Thuan in central Vietnam; some 50,000 speakers altogether speak the major Cham dialect in Vietnam. The data for our sample of Cham sentences were gathered by Doris and David Blood while residing in the Cham village of Phuoc Dong from May 1960 to May 1962.

In areal linguistics, one would look for the influence of languages in contact: Cham and Mon-Khmer in Cambodia, and Cham and Vietnamese in Vietnam. Though Cham is an Austronesian (Indonesian) language, and Vietnamese does not belong to this language family, the two unrelated languages show certain unusual similarities in their consonant contrasts. Both distinguish four nasals, / m n ñ ŋ /, and five stops, though at different points for oral stops; only Cham distinguishes the glottal stop. Both show two liquids and two semivowels, but Cham makes only two linear distinctions among fricatives, / s h /, while Vietnamese distinguishes five fricatives. The Cham vowel type is 3(FCB)—much more symmetrical than that of Vietnamese, where vowels are further distinguished by five different tones. In Cham there are also tonal distinctions, but only two, and 'pitch-strength' is contrastive only after oral stops. Grammatical similarities between Cham and Mon-Khmer languages have also been observed.

Chanting of various kinds plays an important role in Cham life. Most of the chanting is done by men; although women may take part in chants, they rarely do so. The only occasion of the latter that was observed was at a memorial service for a girl who had died three years earlier. The mother wailed a chant at the village ceremony and also on the way out to the burial ground.

Some Cham legends may be either chanted or narrated and seem to follow the lexicon and grammar of normal speaking. However, the Cham standard of excellence seems to be measured by the 'height' of the language. The more learned a man is in the Cham script and in Cham history and mythology, the 'higher' (and less understood) his language becomes when he is chanting.

One variety of this is *mystical language* (ən pìngu pòh čətoy) or *language of the flowers*, which may be a form of Cham poetry. The word order seems at most only slightly different from normal Cham syntax. Probably the chief feature of this *language of the flowers* is its use of figures and allegories which obscure the real message.

Another variety is *biography* (tàmənuy) or *personal history*, which may be either chanted or spoken. The 'high' vocabulary may present the greatest barrier to the understanding of this language variety. One Cham informant, who was a man in his early 40's, educated somewhat both in the Cham script and in Vietnamese, said that he could neither translate into Vietnamese nor explain a text of *personal history*. It is possible that this last type of chant is used only for religious purposes and is taboo so far as translation is concerned.

There is also a form of Cham Arabic used by Moslem priests in praying and chanting. The Brahmanist Chams do not use Arabic or the Koran, but they enjoy hearing the auctioneer-like chanting of the Moslem priests who are also Cham.

Cham folk songs also represent a divergent style of the language. There are phonological changes made in the discourse of the song: i.e. final pharyngeals (glottal and /h/) are dropped except in certain compounds (such as miʔ wa). There have been arguments between speakers whether a word in the text should end with a glottal or /h/, rendering a different meaning in each case. Some archaic forms of words are used, but generally the lexicon does not seem to differ from ordinary speech. However, the songs are difficult to understand and difficult to explain. If there is archaism, it may be in the grammatical style. A verse of one song concerns the present president of Vietnam, suggesting rather recent composition.

There are a half dozen or more Chamic languages spoken on the mainland—i.e. in Vietnam and Cambodia—all in mountainous regions of Vietnam except Cham proper, which is spoken in the lowlands of Vietnam and Cambodia. The names of these Chamic languages:

Cham proper (150,000 speakers)
Rade (60,000 speakers)
Jorai (20,000 speakers)
Chru (Cru, Kru: 15,000 speakers)
Bih (1,000 speakers)
Hroy (3,000 speakers; possibly a dialect of Cham proper)
South Roglai-Rai (20,000 speakers)
North Roglai (30,000 speakers)
Cac Gia Roglai (2,000 speakers).

The language barriers between these languages often reflect a differential source of borrowing. Possibly, the two major dialects of Cham proper may represent two separate languages; at any rate, the numerous loans from

Mon-Khmer languages make Cham of Cambodia difficult to understand by the Cham of Vietnam, and the Cambodian Cham have to learn the Vietnamese loans in the Cham of Vietnam before mutual intelligibility is established. The mountain people of Hroy have difficulty in understanding their more learned Cham cousins in either lowland, who also borrow from Sanskrit, as is reflected in the Cham script (spelling orthography). Aymonier and Cabaton, in following the Cham script, label p, t, c, k *sourdes* and b, d, j, g *sonores*. It is quite possible that these labels were never intended to be phonetically accurate, but were convenient and followed the tradition of the Sanskrit grammarians.

In an early attempt to analyze Cham, we restricted ourselves to a sample of 49 sentences. In these sentences there were 249 morphemes. These were divided into major morphemes (cap M), the majority; and into minor morphemes (small m), almost a quarter of the total; and those which alternate in function between minor and major morphemes: $\frac{m}{M}$ when the given morpheme functions as minor, but $\frac{M}{m}$ when the same morpheme functions as major morpheme.

Of the three morpheme types, only M, a major morpheme, occurs as the phrase nucleus. Major morphemes are syntactically free; that is, they may constitute a complete utterance.

The second type of morpheme is m, a minor morpheme, which never occurs as the phrase nucleus. It is not apt to occur as an independent utterance, since it is always either a satellite of a phrase nucleus, or an affix—e.g. pa-, which is phonologically and morphologically bound to verbs, changing them from intransitive to transitive: mɨŋtay *to die*, pamɨŋtay *to kill*. Such sequences of intransitive verbs and the causative prefix pa- have been included in parentheses, along with reduplications and compounds, in the examples below.

Morpheme shapes of single morphemes range from monosyllables to trisyllables. In context, many disyllabic morphemes (in citation form) may lose their initial syllables (in connected utterances). Disyllabic morphemes consist of a heavily stressed obligatory final syllable, optionally preceded by a brief weakly stressed initial syllable. Trisyllabic morphemes do not lose their initial syllables in connected utterance, except when the first two syllables are fused into one. Of the 249 morphemes in one of our samples, 70% are monosyllables, 29% disyllables, and 1% trisyllables.

The phonetic stress patterns for disyllabic and trisyllabic morphemes are shown below, with primary ["], secondary ['], and tertiary [unmarked] stress indicated: ['tə̀ "hlaʔ ~ "hlaʔ] *I* (1st person), ['talə "kan ~ 'tan"kan] *legend.* Low tone is marked by /´/.

Parentheses enclose sequences of more than one morpheme which are formed by affixation, reduplication or compounding; and also enclose some instances of modified-modifier orders.

After some illustrative sentences of Cham sentence profiles, the order of morphemes in phrase interiors is pointed out. The phrase interiors with modified-modifier orders have glosses enclosed in parentheses, when both modifier and modified are major morphemes (M).

Brackets surround all phrases, whether enclosing one or more than one morpheme (indirectly so, by placing the brackets on the gloss line). No space is written between the unique Cham prefix for causative, /pa-/ ~ /p-/, and the following morpheme. Other sequences that are separated by space are generally monomorphemic, but not always monosyllabic.

It is the phrase that functions as a kind of super-word in Cham and that has demonstrable functions which may be assigned to it, as Subject or

[S phrase], Object or [O phrase], Location or [L phrase], Time or Tense [T phrase], and Verb or [V phrase]. The morphemes within phrases are not treated as parts of speech, but as instances of M, m, or dual function morphemes. In our sample of sentences most morphemes are 'bases' or major morphemes (M, which function as phrase nucleus or as part of the parentheses that function as phrase nucleus); 20 percent or more are 'particles' or minor morphemes (m, which relate to the phrase nucleus M as numeral, classifier, verb complement or the like); and 12 percent or more alternate as minor morphemes ($\frac{m}{M}$) in some phrases and as major morphemes ($\frac{M}{m}$), functioning as phrase nucleus, in other phrases.

Profile I sentences include the sequence [S phrase] [V phrase] in that order, as exemplified in sentences (1) to (20), below.

(1) *My mother still continues to be robust.*

mɛʔ tə̀hlaʔ kəcə̀p kəro men

[(*mother* *my*)] [(*firm* - *strong*) *still*]

The interior of the [S phrase] is [(M M)], with M for *first person* functioning as modifier; when this M is the only M in the first phrase of a Profile I sentence, as (2) following, it functions as Subject. In sentence (1) the second or [V phrase] is [(M M) m] with minor morpheme (m for *still*) functioning as a minor morpheme in all phrases.

(2) *I'm going to take a nap.*

tə̀hlaʔ naw patə̀y klɛh

[*I*] [*go* (*to repose* *to be tired*)]

Here the [S phrase] is [M] but the [V phrase] is [$\frac{m}{M}$ (M-M)], with the double functioning first morpheme ($\frac{m}{M}$ for *go*) functioning in other phrases as a major morpheme ($\frac{M}{m}$)—i.e. as the phrase nucleus.

(3) You are going.

ʔoŋ naw

[grandfather] [go]

(4) The child is diligent.

ʔənɨʔ terey

[child] [diligent]

(5) He thinks.

ʔəmɨ sənɨŋ

[father] [thinks]

The [S phrase] gives the gloss for father: this is the usual polite way of referring to 3rd person, male.

(6) He wants to go visiting.

ñu təkrɨ naw məʔen

[he] [(wants go play)]

(7) The child runs very fast.

rinčh doyʔ səmən lo

[child] [(run fast very)]

(8) My mother is still living.

meʔ təhla tɔ̀ʔ men

[mother my] [sit still]

(9) Have you eaten rice?

ʔoŋ hwaʔ yə

[grandfather] [eat rice already]

(10) I have returned already.

tə̀hlaʔ naw may pəčə̀

[I] [(go come) already]

(11) He is also about to go and do nothing but play.

ñu	càŋ	t^{h}i	naw	məʔen	t^{h}ɔh	men
[he	also]	[about to	go	play	free	only]

(12) He is very angry.

ñu	kinɔŋ	lo
[he]	[angry	very]

(13) Have you finished eating rice?

hwaʔ	plɔ̀h	yə
[rice-eating]	[finish	already]

(14) The tiger is very strong.

rimɔŋ	kəcəp	loʔ
[tiger]	[strong	very]

(15) The tiger is powerful.

rimɔŋ	kəcəp	khəŋ
[tiger]	[strong	hard]

(16) The tiger is dead.

rimɔŋ	mɨŋtay	pačə
[tiger]	[dead	already]

(17) That tiger is very fat.

rimɔŋ	nən	limɯʔ	lo
[tiger	that]	[fat	very]

(18) That dead tiger is fat.

rimɔŋ	mɨtay	limɯʔ
[tiger	dead]	[fat]

(19) That fat tiger is dead.

rimɔŋ	limɯʔ	nən	mɨntay
[tiger	fat	that]	[dead]

(20) That is the dead tiger.

nən	rimɔŋ	mɨntay
[that]	[(tiger	dead)]

The parentheses in the [V phrase] point to the modified-modifier order, which in English is reversed, as in the free translation order above.

The next sentence begins in Time phrase; the profile as a whole is [T phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase].

(21) Tonight I'm going up.

mələm	ni	tə̀hla?	naw	pa?	ŋɔ?
[night	this]	[I]	[go	at	up]

The following sentences, (22) to (32), end in Object phrase, and show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(22) Mother is spanking her child.

?əmɛ?	tˋ ŋ	?ənɨ?
[mother]	[spank]	[child]

(23) I saw the dead tiger.

tahla?	boh	rimɔŋ	mɨŋtay
[I]	[see]	[(tiger	dead)]

(24) Tigers kill water-buffalo.

rimɔŋ	pəmɨŋtay	kəpə̀w
[tiger]	[cause-die]	[water-buffalo]

(25) The old gentleman is making two large beautiful houses.

?oŋ	təha	ŋa?	twà	pˋh	tʰaŋ	ptɔŋ	syam
[grandfather	old]	[make]	[two	thing	(house	big	good)]

In the final or [O phrase], the phrase nucleus is given in parentheses (modified-modifier-modifier); this is preceded by classifier, glossed thing which in turn is preceded by quantifier for two. This is the regular order for

[0 phrases] or [S phrases] that specify classifier—namely quantifier before classifier before phrase nucleus.

(26) She sees the two babies.

muʔ nən boh twà ʔuraŋ ʔənɨʔ kəman

[grandmother that]$_a$ [see]$_b$ [two person (child baby)]$_c$

The last (c) phrase here also shows quantifier-classifier-nucleus order in phrase interior. And the phrases in the sentence may be non-contrastively reordered from a b c, as cited, to b a c, c a b, and also to b c a.

(27) She is going to put the two babies to sleep.

muʔ nən thi naw pədih twà ʔuraŋ ʔənɨʔ kəman

[grandmother that] [about-to go cause-sleep] [two person (child baby)]

(28) I want to tell the legend about Lazy Chapong.

tə̀hlaʔ təkrɨ dom tə̀ləkan ka cəpoŋ ʔelah

[I] [want speak legend] [m (Chapong lazy)]

The final or [0 phrase] begins with a phrase introducer glossed minor morpheme (m).

(29) In that big river there are many fish.

tə̀ləm krɔŋ prɔŋ nən hu kan rəlɔ

[inside (river big) that] [have] [fish many]

(30) This is a cleanser to purify the body.

mu piəh ɲaʔ pəcih rup pəp^{h}ap

[cleanser] [for make cause-pure] [(body body)]

(31) This child is having his picture taken.

nɨʔ ni tɔ̀ʔ mɨʔ piɲuʔ

[child this] [remain get] [shadow]

(32) I'm repairing the house.

tə̀hlaʔ	ŋaʔ	tʰaŋ	pəsyam	wɨʔ
[I]	[make]	[house	cause be-good	again]

The same morpheme that is glossed I in the [S phrase] of this sentence may be glossed me in the [O phrase] of other sentences.

Sentences (33) and (34) include two Objects, and hence show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [O phrase].

(33) He is pondering about his very industrious child and his very average child.

ʔ mɨ	sənɨŋ sənɨŋ	ka	ʔənɨʔ	təri təreŋ	ʔənɨʔ
[father]	[think-think	about]	[child	diligent-diligent]	[child

kəp kəp
fit-fit]

Rather than clutter the [O phrase]'s with additional parentheses, we point out here that the order is modified-modifier, and that the modifier is reduplicated in each [O phrase].

(34) We are going to visit the old gentleman and his children.

khɔn	tə̀hlaʔ	naw	liwəŋ	ʔoŋ	təha	tʰoŋ
[plural	I]	[go	visit]	[grandfather	old]	[and

tòm	kəmun
several	nephews]

Sentences (35) and (36) show profiles including Location phrases—[S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] and [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase], respectively.

(35) You two have come to this village.

twà	hətiwʔ	pəthaŋ	ʔoŋ	may	paʔ	pləy	ni
[two	(wife	husband)	you]	[come]	[to	village	this]

In the [S phrase], the major morpheme phrase nucleus is glossed you, and this major morpheme is preceded by a compound glossed (wife husband) which functions as a classifier, and hence is preceded by a quantifier glossed two. Other selections of such classifiers are glossed (mother father) and (grandmother grandfather).

(36) There are nine big Moslems in this village.

tə̀ləm	pləy	ni	hu	tʰaləpən	ʔuraŋ	pìni	prɔŋ
[in	village	this]	[have]	[nine	person	(Moslem	big)]

The last or [0 phrase] shows the order quantifier-classifier-phrase nucleus. The glosses for phrase nucleus are enclosed in parentheses to point to the modified-modifier order.

Sentence (37) begins with Location of time phrase in profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. It is not certain that sentence (38) reflects the same profile; it does, if the second phrase of (38) taken as an [S phrase] with phrase introducer glossed upon; it does not, if the second phrase of (38) is taken as an [L phrase].

(37) Formerly this country had a Cham king.

mɨŋ	kan	nəkə̀n	ni	hu	pətəw	çəm
[from	former-time]	[region	this]	[has]	[king	Cham]

(38) This year there are many communists in the mountains.

thun	ni	ŋɔʔ	cəʔ[illegible]	ḫu	ralo	ʔuraŋ	klay
[year	this]$_a$	[upon	mountain]$_b$	[have]$_c$	[many	person	pagan]$_c$

The last or [0 phrase] shows quantifier-classifier-phrase nucleus order. The phrase nucleus is usually glossed wild. The phrases of this sentence may be reordered non-contrastively from a b c d, as cited, to c d b a, b a c d, a c d b, b c d a, and c d a b.

Sentence profiles which include an Interrogative phrase appear to be more reorderable in non-contrastive syntax than sentences without [I phrase].

(39) Why are you doing that?

ʔoŋ ŋaʔ tʰipə̀n

[you] [do] [how why]

(40) Why are you going home?

tʰipə̀n ʔoŋ naw tʰaŋ

[why] [you] [go] [home]

(41) When are you going?

ʔoŋ piən naw

[you] [when] [go]

(42) When did you return?

ʔoŋ may piən

[you] [come] [when]

Profile of (39)—[S phrase]$_a$ [V phrase]$_b$ [I phrase]$_c$ is reorderable from a b c to a c b; profile of (40)—[I phrase]$_a$ [S phrase]$_b$ [V phrase]$_c$ [O phrase]$_d$—from a b c d to b c a d; profile of sentences (41) and (42) is the same as that for (39) and is similarly reorderable.

Sentence (43) following shows the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] [Neg. phrase]. This profile may also be reordered to [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase], as shown in sentence (44). [Neg. phrase] may also follow a [V phrase], as is shown in sentence (45).

(43) He's not going to market.

ñu naw tə̀raʔ ʔo

[he] [go] [market] [not]

(44) He's not going to market.

ɦu ʔoh naw t̀əraʔ

[he] [not] [go] [market]

(45) I'm going to go, but he hasn't gone yet.

t̀əhlaʔ $t^{h}i$ naw men ɦu ka naw ʔo

[I] [about-to go] [but] [he] [yet go] [not]

Profile of sentence (46) is [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase], but the sentence is imperative.

(46) Go away from this village, Mr. Tiger.

ʔoŋ rimɔŋ naw mɨŋ pləy ni

[grandfather tiger] [go] [from (village this)]

In the first or [S phrase], the order is classifier-phrase nucleus; the classifier is glossed grandfather to indicate a high degree of politeness. For lower degree of politeness in addressing animals for whom less respect is felt, the classifier for older sibling would be used.

Sentences (47) and (48) include direct quotes. The first of these reflects a pair of profiles: the first profile for the narrative part of the sentence—[S phrase] [V phrase]—and the second profile for the quoted part of the sentence—[S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. The second sentence, (48), reflects an embedded phrase profile.

(47) He said "Mother get rice."

ɦu dom layʔ ʔəmɛ mɨ lithay

[he] [(speak say)] [mother] [get] [rice]

(48) He said "Jump!" so the people jumped.

ɦu layʔ sɛt nən ʔuraŋ sɛt

[he] [say] [jump] [is [people] jump]

The preceding sentence profiles of Cham are based on a very small sample, of course, but as far as it goes, it shows that Cham is more like Austronesian languages spoken in Indonesia (e.g. Javanese and Sundanese) than it is like those spoken in Polynesia. In proliferation of consonant distinctions and vowel distinctions, Cham is again more like languages spoken in Indonesia than in Polynesia. The problem of relating Cham to a particular branch of the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family is not a new one; it was recognized a half century ago by Aymonier and Cabaton, Dictionnaire Cam-Français (Paris, 1906).

The areal linguistic problem is a new one—that of investigating the influences on Cham of Vietnamese and of Mon-Khmer languages. Like languages from these two language families, Cham has restrictions on the occurrence of some consonants in word-final—but so have other Austronesian languages spoken far from the mainland (e.g. in New Caledonia). And of course the ultimate restriction of consonants in word-final is found in Polynesia—there are none, since all words end in vowels.

A more promising domain for investigating the diffusion from other languages to Cham lies in ethnolinguistics generally—as the use of honorifics, or the development of woman's speech as a style or structure of speaking that is practiced only by women. The latter is known for Cham but not for a second Chamic language described below (4.4), and presumably not a regularly descended Chamic structure but one that has diffused to Cham alone. Woman's speech characteristics in Cham, according to Doris Blood (Asian Culture III, 3-4; 139-43), are correlated with ignorance of Cham script (derived from Devanāgari under the influence of Sanskrit), and the literature in which Cham is written:

'Pya say ni tày may ngwong ay. 'This afternoon I will come to visit you.'

"He said, 'Oh, no. It should be this way:'

"Piya hahray ni atày may rovong ay.

"His utterance shows the influence of the Cham script, for in normal speech the preliminary syllables of hahray and atày might be left off. It is interesting to note that this young man's own sister uses women's speech. Neither the men nor the women change their pronunciation when in the presence of the other sex. One morning a tortoise was brought to us, the woman calling it a *kya*. An elderly gentleman scholar spoke of it as *kra*, and all morning long there was conversation about it, *kya* from the women, *kra* from the men.

"Much of men's vocabulary related to ancient literature is not understood by women. I have even had difficulty checking the utterance ra posong, equivalent to Vietnamese phải 'must'. The women make little use of conjunctions such as thông, meaning 'and' or 'with', and hay lai? 'or'. Of the relative pronouns ni 'this' and non 'that', they more often use the variants i and on.

"The principal differences in phonology of women's speech concern the phoneme r, retention of preglottalization, phonetic changes in the preliminary syllable and some in the word base, and the g segment following velar nasal.

"It is apparent that women's speech has streamlined to a large extent the forms of words perpetuated by the Cham script. At the present time the script is not being passed on as extensively as it used to be. Boys who do study the script in their youth experience a change of speech from that similar to their mothers' to that like their fathers'. But now fewer young men are becoming proficient in the use of the script. Because of this, what we have called here 'women's speech' may well be a preview of the Cham language of the future."

NORTH ROGLAI IN VIETNAM

4.4. As is indicated in the preceding section (4.3), North Roglai is one of the Chamic languages. There is enough mutual intelligibility between South Roglai in Vietnam and Cham in Vietnam to permit communication between the speakers of the two, but it has not yet been determined whether this is a consequence of the South Roglai being immediate neighbors of the Cham, and taking the trouble to learn Cham as a separate but prestige language, or whether it is a consequence of South Roglai and Cham being mutually intelligible dialects of a single South Roglai-Cham language. If the latter were the fact, then Cham, South Roglai, and North Roglai would constitute a dialect cluster of divergent dialects of which the first two (Cham and South Roglai) and the last two (South Roglai and North Roglai) enjoy ability to communicate with each other, while the extreme dialects in this cluster (Cham and North Roglai) are separated by a language barrier whenever they meet. Geographic barriers—a desert in one place and a mountain in another—do not succeed entirely in keeping South Roglai speakers from contact with North Roglai speakers, and when the two meet they always understand one another, at least partially. The barrier of distance (though not great, yet over difficult terrain) and cultural barriers do succeed in keeping Cham speakers from contact with North Roglai speakers. The contributor of the sample of the North Roglai sentences given here, Ernest W. Lee, does not remember if any Cham speakers ever came to the North Roglai; the Cham have little interest in tribal peoples living to the north of them. But not so the other way around; the North Roglai are fascinated with Cham culture, and the Cham kings of former centuries—as well as tales of sea-going fishing expeditions—enter prominently in the folklore of the tribal North Roglai who have no tradition of their own former kings, and, in their present mountain habitat are cut off from the sea. However, when a North Roglai makes a rare trip to the Cham country, he cannot understand the Cham, nor they him.

In terms of linear distinctions, four oral stops (and the glottal stop in addition), four nasals, four oral sonorants, / w r l y /, and two fricatives are distinguished both in Cham and North Roglai. In terms of distinctions among consonants or consonant clusters, more distinctions are made in North Roglai:

(1) voiceless stops unaspirated (C);
(2) voicless stops aspirated (CC);
(3) voiced stops unaspirated (C);
(4) voiced stops aspirated (CC);
(5) implosives—i.e. preglottalized voiced stops (CC);
(6) aspirated implosives—i.e. preglottalized voiced stops aspirated (CCC);
(7) voiced nasals and l (C);
(8) voiceless nasals and l—i.e. preaspirated / hl /, / hn / etc. (CC).

The vowel types of North Roglai—2(FCB)—and of Cham—3(FCB)—are equally symmetrical, but there are six different vowels in North Roglai as against nine in Cham, and Roglai, but not Cham, vowels may occur with nasalization.

Since North Roglai is so similar to Cham, and since we have made extensive comments on the sample of Cham sentences, it seems possible to point out the profile of North Roglai sentences, without adding much additional comment.

Sentences (1) - (7) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase].

(1) He thinks.

ñu siniŋ
[he] [thinks]

(2) You are going.

hạ nạw

[you] [go]

When the [S phrase] and [V phrase] are reordered to [V phrase] [S phrase] in sentence (2), a new profile and a new message results—imperative you go!

(3) I have returned already.

kəw wəʔ bloh

[I] [return already]

What has been glossed already functions as a past marker. Without it the sentence is non-past.

(4) Grandmother has come.

ʔamọʔ mạy bloh

[grandmother] [come already]

(5) The child runs very fast.

ʔanạːʔ papə ʔanụh ʔwan

[child] [runs fast very]

(6) Your vehicle goes very fast.

radeh hạ nạw ʔanụh ʔwan

[vehicle your] [go fast very]

(7) Did your little brother come too?

ʔadəy mạy min

[younger sibling] [come also]

For sentences (1) to (7) above, intonation determines whether each sentence is an interrogative one or a statement.

Almost a dozen sentences follow, unnumbered, to give further examples of the [S phrase] [V phrase] profile; there seems no need in North Roglai to introduce a [Topic] [Comment] profile, since the common [S phrase] [V phrase] profile is able to account for all such two-phrase sentences.

He is very angry.

ñu čaw ʔ̥wan

[he] [angry very]

The child works well.

ʔadəy ŋạʔ brwạʔ sya:p

[child] [do work well]

His mother is very sick.

ʔawəy ñụ saki:ʔ ʔwan

[mother his] [sick very]

My mother is still living.

ʔawəy kəw do:ʔ hadyuʔ

[mother my] [remain alive]

My mother still continues to be robust.

ʔawəy kəw do:ʔ pran lawa

[mother my] [remain strong breath]

That tiger is very fat.

lumoŋ hyạ lumạʔ ʔwan

[tiger that] [fat very]

The tiger died.

lumoŋ mạtay bloh

[tiger] [dead already]

The tiger is powerful.

lumoŋ pran khak

[tiger] [strong hard]

The tiger is very strong.

lumoŋ pran ʔwan

[tiger] [strong very]

That fat tiger is dead.

lumoŋ lumạʔ hyạ mạtay bloh

[tiger fat that] [dead already]

That dead tiger is fat.

lumoŋ mạtay hyạ lumạʔ

[tiger dead that] [fat]

Sentences (8) to (20) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(8) Tigers kill water-buffalo.

lumoŋ pamạtay kubaw

[tiger] [cause-die] [water-buffalo]

(9) Mother is spanking her child.

ʔawəy ŋạʔ ʔanạ:ʔ

[mother] [spank] [child]

(10) He wants to go visiting.

nũ khyang nạw lawak ʔura:k

[he] [want (go visit)] [someone]

(11) I'm going to take a nap.

kəw nạw pi:ʔ sa panị:ʔ

[I]$_a$ [go sleep]$_b$ [one nap]$_c$

The phrases of sentence (11) may also be reordered from a b c, as cited, to b c a.

(12) Your mother will spank you in a little while.

ʔawəy ŋạʔ hã ʔbyaʔ

[mother] [spank] [you in-a-little-bit]

(13) I am going to take a bath.

kəw nạw mạnị ʔya

[I] [go] [bath water]

(14) The mother is bathing her child.

ʔawạy pamạnị ʔadạy ʔben

[mother] [cause-bathe] [younger sibling small]

(15) I'm repairing the house.

kəw ŋạʔ sa:k wòʔ

[I] [make] [house again]

(16) The old man is making two large beautiful houses.

kəy tuha ŋạʔ dwa boh sa:k prok gəm

[grandfather old] [make] [two classifier (house big and

lageh

beautiful)]

Between a numeral and a phrase nucleus, a classifier is obligatory; the selection of the classifier being determined by the selection of the phrase nucleus. Thus /ra:k/ is the classifier used for people, /dray/ for animals, /ʔbeʔ/ for long objects, /blah/ for flat objects, /khu:k/ for bulky objects, and /boh/ for all other objects.

(17) She sees the two babies.

ñụ buh dwa ra:k ʔanạ:ʔ mạluh

[she] [see] [two classifier child newborn]

(18) She is going to put the two babies to sleep.

ñụ jeʔ sɨon papɨ:ʔ dwa ra:k ʔanạ:ʔ mạluh

[she] [near about to cause-sleep][two classifier child newborn]

(19) The man is shooting two tigers.

lakə̣y	panạh	dwa	drəy	lumoŋ
[man]	[shoot]	[two	classifier	tiger]

(20) This child is having his picture taken.

ʔanạʔ	ʔunị	hmụ	ura:k	čup	hiŋ	ñụ
[child	this]	[has	(person	take)]	[picture	his]

(21) He is also about to go and do nothing but play.

ñụ	jeʔ	si	nạw	min	mạ	mạʔin	soh
[he]	[near	(about to	go)	also]	[but	play	only]

This sentence shows profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [V phrase].

(22) That's a dead tiger.

hyạ	la	lumoŋ	mạtay
[that]	[is	(tiger	dead)]

The morpheme glossed is may be regarded as a phrase introducer in the Verb phrase, thereby permitting this sentence to be a rare example of the common [S phrase] [V phrase] profile. In sentences above, (1) to (7) and the several sentences following, the [V phrase] does not include a phrase introducer.

The next three sentences, (23) - (25) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase]. The Location phrase begins with one or another phrase introducer.

(23) You have come to this village.

mugəʔ	mə̣y	paʔ	paləy	unị
[you(pl.)]	[come]	[to	village	this]

(24) Grandmother is in the house.

ʔamọ:ʔ	do:ʔ	la	sa:k
[grandmother]	[remain]	[in	house]

(25) Grandfather is going to the field.

ʔakəy nạw paʔ ʔapu

[grandfather] [go] [to field]

(26) Tonight I'm going up.

mạlap unị kəw nạw paʔ ŋọʔ

[night this]$_a$ [I]$_b$ [go]$_c$ [to up]$_d$

Sentence (26) shows the profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase]. The first L phrase may also be non-contrastively shifted to final position giving the phrase order b c d a.

The profile for the following sentences, (27) to (29), is [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase]. Sentence (27) has as its fourthor [L phrase] a location-in-time phrase, while sentences (28) and (29) have location in place.

(27) I will eat rice tomorrow.

kəw ʔbək bu pagi

[I]$_a$ [eat]$_b$ [rice]$_c$ [tomorrow]$_d$

(28) This year there are many communists in the mountains.

thut ʔani hmu ʔạyʔ mạnwịh kayh paʔ čəʔ

[year this]$_a$ [has]$_b$ [many (man jungle)]$_c$ [in mountain]$_d$

The phrases in sentence (28) above and sentence (29) below may be reordered from a b c d to b c d a.

(29) This year there are 3,000 communists in the mountains.

thut ʔanị hmụ tləw ɲan ra:c mạnwịh kayh

[year this]$_a$ [has]$_b$ [three thousand classifier (man jungle)]$_c$

paʔ čəʔ

[in mountain]$_d$

In North Roglai, it is necessary to distinguish between a numeral quantifier, as in the [O phrase] of this sentence, and a quantifier that gives magnitude rather than exact numeration, as in sentence (28), above. It is only the numeral quantifier that implicates a following classifier before the phrase nucleus.

(30) Formerly this country had a Cham king.

mụh	jumạ	laga	unị	hmụ	pitaw	čap
[from	before]$_a$	[area	this]$_b$	[has]$_c$	[king	Cham]$_d$

Sentence (30) shows a profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. The a b c d order as shown above may be reordered non-contrastively to b c d a.

(31) He hasn't gone yet.

ka	ñụ	nạw	ʔoh
[yet]$_a$	[he]$_b$	[go]$_c$	[not]$_d$

The profile for sentence (31) is [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [Neg. phrase]. The order of phrases, a b c d, may be reordered to a b d c, b a c d, and b a d c.

(32) He won't allow it.

ʔbuh	ñụ	čyuʔ	ʔoh
[not]	[he]	[permit]	[not]

The profile for sentence (32) is [Neg. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [Neg. phrase]. This may also be reordered to [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [Neg. phrase].

(33) He's not going to market.

ʔbuh	nu	nạw	paʔ	čə:ʔ	ʔoh
[not]$_a$	[he]$_b$	[go]$_c$	[to	market]$_d$	[not]$_e$

Sentence (33) shows the profile [Neg. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] [Neg. phrase]. As with the previous sentence, the [S phrase] may be non-contrastively placed before the [Neg. phrase]—a b c d e reordered to b a c d e.

(34) He won't wear a shirt.

ʔbuh ñu čyuʔ ču:ʔ ʔaw ʔoh

[not] [he] [submit wear] [shirt] [not]

Sentence (34) shows the profile [Neg. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [Neg. phrase].

Sentences (35) - (37) show the profile [Interrog. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase]. In two out of three cases of this kind of profile, the [Interrog. phrase] might just as well be labelled a Location of time phrase, so far as meaning is concerned. However, the [Interrog. phrase] differs in permutability from the [L phrase] which is very permutable or reorderable; the [Interrog. phrase] is not.

(35) Why are you going home?

hayəw hạ wəʔ

[why] [you] [go-home]

(36) When are you going?

hadu:p jə hạ nạw

[how-many hour] [you] [go]

(37) When did you return?

hadu:p jə hạ mạy

[how-many hour] [you] [come]

Profiles for the remaining sentences are not specified.

(38) He said "Jump!" so the people jumped.

ñụ la:yʔ plok yə hyạ mạ ʔura:k plok

[he] [say] [jump] like that but [person] [jump]

(39) He said "Mother get rice".

ñụ la:yʔ ʔawəy mạʔ bu

[he] [say] [mɔther] [get] [rice]

(40) Give that to me.

brəy kaya hyạ ga kəw

[give]$_a$ [thing that]$_b$ [to me]$_c$

This may also be reordered non-contrastively a c b.

(41) Give it to me.

brəy ga kəw

[give] [to me]

(42) Please give me a shirt.

kəw lakəw di hạ sa blah ʔaw

[I] [request] [from you] [one classifier shirt]

(43) Let Father do it.

brəy ga ʔamạ ŋạʔ

[give] [to father do]

(44) May I treat the sore?

kəw lakəw ŋạʔ jrạw

[I] [request make] [medicine]

(45) Could you treat my sore?

(kəw) lakəw hạ ŋạʔ jrạw

[I] [request you make] [medicine]

(46) Why are you doing that?

hayəw hạ ŋạʔ kaya hyạ

[why] [you] [do] [thing that]

(47) I want to tell the legend about "Elephant Sado."

kəw khya·ŋ padwah mụh caya padwah luman saʔdo

[I] [want] [to-tell-legend][about thing][to-tell-legend][elephant sado]

(48) *Have you finished eating rice?*

hạ	ʔbək	bu	soŋ	bloh
[*you*]	[*eat*]	[*rice*]	[*finished*	*already*]

(49) *In that big river are many fish.*

ɗalap	ʔya	inạ	hyạ	do:ʔ	ika:t	ʔạyʔ
[*in*	(*water*	*main*)	*there*]	[*remains*]	[*fish*	*much*]

JAVANESE

4.5. Information on the sound system given above (4.2) shows that more Javanese linear distinctions are made by voiced and voiceless stops than are made in Cham or North Roglai, but that the other consonant distinctions are much the same — four nasals, four oral sonorants, and two fricatives. The Javanese vowel type is less symmetrical than are the vowel types of the mainland Indonesian languages.

There are restrictions on final consonants in Javanese; and no final consonant clusters are permitted. Permitted finals include all voiceless stops (except retroflex /ṭ/ and affricate /č/), both fricatives, both liquids, and three of the four nasals (not palatalized /ñ/). If the permitted final vowels were taken as a coexistent system, this system could be typologized symmetrically as 3(FB):

i	u
e	o
a	ɔ

Some vowel clusters appear only in word-finals, and some only in non-final position. One formula for all possible syllable shapes is ⟨C⟩ ⟨C⟩ ⟨C⟩ V ⟨C⟩, in which the wedges enclose optional consonants — three C, two C, one C or no C before V; and one C or no C after V. The V stands both for a single vowel and a vowel cluster.

Mohammad Moehnilabib in an unpublished master's thesis (Indiana University, 1959) assigns numbers in decade groups (with same privilege of occurrence for whatever is listed in a given group) to some thirty minor morphemes (mainly affixes but also reduplication operators), in order to show with which major morphemes the minor morphemes are combinable, in an attempt to justify the 'parts of speech' of Javanese. Thus, nouns are compatible with minor morphemes listed in decades 150 and 160; verbs with those listed in decade 110; adjectives with those listed in decades 220 and 310 and 440. Besides noun (N), verb (V), and adjective (A) form classes, there are overlap base classes (N-V and N-V-A) and a few onomatopeias (restricted affixable stems), and non-affixable particles. (A major morpheme is simply a base that is made up of a single morpheme; minor morphemes include particles as well as affixes.)

11	taʔ-	first pers. sing.
12	koʔ-	second pers. sing. or pl.
13	di-	third pers. sing.
21	di- ~ dipun-	passive
22	N-	active verb verbalizer
31	kə-	unintentional, impurposive
41	saʔ- ~ sə- ~ s-	unit, one
51	kum- ~ kəm-	unreal (only in written Javanese)
61	kə-	ordinal

71	pə-	*nominalizer*
72	pi-	*nominalizer*
81	patiŋ-	*collective sound*, *distributive manner*
82	maʔ-	*sound*, *manner*
111	-ən	*imperative transitive*
112	-a	*imperative intransitive*
113	-a	*concessive*
114	-na	*imperative benefactive*
115	-ana	*imperative repetitive*
116	-ana	*imperative transitivizer*
121	-ne ~ -ake ~ -akən	*benefactive*
122	-ne ~ -ake ~ -akən	*transitivizer*
123	-i	*repetitive*
124	-i	*transitivizer*
131	-an	*verbalizer*
141	-an ~ -a	*nominalizer*
151	-ku	*first pers. sing.*
152	-mu	*second pers. sing. or pl.*
153	-e	*third pers. sing. or pl.*
161	-e ~ -ipun	*definitive*

211	-um- ~ -əm-	*continuitive* (only in written Javanese)
212	-in-	*completive* (only in written Javanese)
221	-u- ~ -o-	*intensive* (only in spoken Javanese)
311	kə-...-ən	*excessive*
321	ka- ~ kə-...-an	*nominalizer*
322	pa- ~ pə-...-an	*nominalizer*
331	sa?-...<-e>	*temporal*, *locative*
411	R(CV-)	*nominalizer*
412	R(CV-)	*verbalizer*
421.1	RB(of CV); B = Base	*repetitive*
421.2	RB(with vowel change)	*repetitive*
422	RB + -an	*reciprocal*
431	RB	*plural*
432	(RB + -an) ~ -an	*imitative*
441	RB + -an	*comparative*
451	RB	*distributive*

The inventory above distinguishes six vowels by six letters, and two additional vowels by rules of distribution. In the sentences which follow, eight vowels are distinguished by eight letters.

The selection of vocabulary items for any specific context is dependent on three interrelated criteria:

(1) who is speaking;

(2) who is spoken to;

(3) who is spoken of.

The sentences which follow were transcribed by Samsuri.

The following sentences, (1) to (31), show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase]. For all sentences, the profile may be non-contrastively reordered to [V phrase] [S phrase]. In sentence profiles, the function label of a phrase, as Subject phrase, serves to give a rough indication of systematic contrast — [S phrase] will contrast with other Javanese phrases labelled Object phrase, etc. below. This does not conflict with a 'part of speech' analysis for Javanese, but also does not attempt to account for the 'parts of speech' as postulated by others. For 'part of speech' approach, we might assign the label [Topic] [Comment] to sentence (1) versus [S phrase] [V phrase] to sentence (2), etc.

(1) The dog is black.

asu kuwi irəŋ

[dog that] [black]

M M M

In the first or [S phrase] the order is modified - modifier — both major morphemes (M's) — and the modifier is glossed that. In other sentences the morpheme glossed that appears as the only M (representing the phrase nucleus).

(2) The book is gone.

bukune	ilaŋ
[book-the]	[lost]
M-m	M

Here, as in (1), the order of morphemes in the [S phrase] is modified - modifier, and the modifier morpheme is glossed the. But the morpheme glossed the is a minor morpheme which never appears as phrase nucleus.

(3) The books were spread out.

bukune	patiŋ	sləbar
[book-the]	[many	spread]
M-m	$\frac{m}{M}$	M

(4) There is much rice.

səgane	akɛh	baŋət
[rice-the]	[much	very]
M-m	M	M

(5) He slept soundly.

turune	aŋlər	tənan
[sleep-the]	[sound	indeed]
M-m	M	M

In sentence (5) above, what has been glossed as the may also be alternatively glossed his, or her. This has been done in some of the succeeding sentences.

(6) He slept soundly.

olɛe turu aŋlər tənan

[way-his sleep] [sound indeed]

M-m M M M

The semantic distinction possible in Javanese between this sentence and the preceding, (5), is indicated in the glosses of the [S phrase]'s; the free translation is the same for (5) and (6).

(7) You sleep soundly indeed.

olɛh mu turu aŋlər tənan

[way-your sleep] [sound indeed]

M-m M M M

Here You sleep ... and You slept ... are not distinguished.

(8) He eats very much.

olɛe maŋan akɛh baŋət

[way-his eat] [much/many very]

M-m m-M M M

(9) Whose book is this?

bukune sɔpɔ iki

[book-the who] [this]

M-m M M

Here the order for two 'words' of the [S phrase] is modified - modifier, and the morpheme for who is modifier, but in another sentence, as (10) below, it may be the only major morpheme in phrase nucleus.

(10) Who is that infant?

bocah	kae	sɔpɔ
[infant	that]	[who]
M	M	M

(11) Whose child is that?

kae	anaʔe	sɔpɔ
[that]	[child-the	who]
M	M-m	M

(12) Father is working.

bapaʔ	lagi	ñambot gawe
[father]	[ing	work]
M	m	M

In the [V phrase], the minor morpheme glossed ing precedes work for working; it is sequences of major morphemes that follow the order modified - modifier.

(13) That shepherd is playing.

bocah	aŋɔn	kae	lagi	dolanan
[(child	herd)	yonder]	[ing	play]
M	M	M	m	M-m

The parentheses in the [S phrase] point to a modified - modifier order which, as a whole functions as modified to the modifier following, glossed yonder.

(14) The book is gone.

bukune ilaŋ

[book-the] [lost]

M - m M

(15) Who is sick?

sɔpɔ siŋ lɔrɔ

[who] [who sick]

M m M

(16) The dog is barking.

asune jəgɔk

[dog-the] [bark]

M-m M

(17) The dog is barking.

asune lagi jəgɔk

[dog-the] [ing bark]

M-m m M

(18) The (that) child is playing.

bocah kuwi lagi dolanan

[child that] [ing play]

M M m M-m

(19) Sutama is reading.

sutɔmɔ lagi mɔcɔ

[Sutama] [ing read]

M m m-M

(20) I am eating.

aku maŋan

[I] [eat]

M m-M

(21) The children are playing hide and seek.

bocah bocah lagi dolanan jɛṭuŋan

[child-child] [ing (play hide-'n-seek)]

M-M m M-m M

The parentheses in the [V phrase] point to the modified - modifier order after a minor morpheme relevant to the whole parentheses.

(22) Wangsa's son is herding.

anaˀe wɔŋsɔ lagi aŋɔn

[child-his Wangsa] [ing (to) herd]

M-m M m M

Herding here is in reference to sheep or cattle or carabao.

(23) He is eating.

ḍɛˀe lagi maŋan

[he] [ing eat]

M m m-M

(24) Amat's father is sick.

bapaˀe amat lagi lɔrɔ

[father-his Amat] [ing sick]

M-m M m M

(25) Your request was gladly accepted.

pəňjaluˀmu	ditɔmpɔ	kanṭi	buŋah
[request-your]	[(is) accept	with	glad]
M-m	m-M	M	M

The morphemes glossed with and glad are included after (is) accept in the [V phrase] because they are not separable in reordering of phrases.

(26) His proposal was flatly refused.

lamarane	ditampiˀ	məntah məntaan
[proposal-his]	[(is) refused	(unripe-unripe)]
M-m	m-M	M-M

For the second member of the modified - modifier order in the [V phrase] parentheses enclose the gloss of the reduplication which follows the modified morpheme.

(27) Mr. Mayor is definitely very active.

paˀ	walikɔta	mɛmaŋ	aktif	baŋət
[father	mayor]	[definitely	(active	very)]
$\frac{m}{M}$	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M

What has been glossed definitely is a direct borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia, and what has been glossed active is directly borrowed from Dutch. When morpheme for father precedes phrase nucleus, it functions as a minor morpheme.

(28) The children are playing hide and seek.

bocah bocah dolanan jɛṭuŋan

[child-child] [play hide-'n-seek]

M-M M-m M

(29) It is Amat's father who is sick.

bapaʔe amat siŋ lɔrɔ

[father-his Amat] [who sick]

M-m M m M

(30) The child has gone.

bocae wis luŋɔ

[child-the] [already gone]

M-m M M

Perhaps the free translation should be either *The boy*... or *The girl*... since the age of the someone glossed *child* might be older than a child.

(31) Gendut ate again and again.

gənḍut kuwi moŋan mɛŋɛn wae

[Gendut that] [eat-eat merely]

M M m-M — m-M M

(32) There are many fish in this river.

iŋ kali iki akɛh iwaʔe

[position river this] [many] [fish-the]

m M M M M-m

The profile for (32), unlike that for (1) to (31) above, includes an [L phrase] giving the Location or position, marked by a minor morpheme phrase introducer.

(33) During the Dutch administration we were, alas, worse off.

wah	jaman	lɔndɔ	ki	rəkɔsɔ	tənan
[alas]$_a$	[era	Dutch	this]$_b$	[difficult	indeed]$_c$
M	M	M	M	M	M

The profile for sentence (33) is [S phrase] [V phrase] preceded by an exclamation, glossed alas. The phrase sequence shown as abc may be reordered acb.

The following sentences, (34) to (42), show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. Alternatively, this profile may be reordered in non-contrastive syntax to [V phrase] [O phrase] [S phrase].

(34) The boy is herding sheep.

bocah	kuwi	lagi	aŋɔn	wəḍos
[child	that]	[ing	herd]	[sheep]
M	M	m	M	M

(35) Mr. and Mrs. Karto fell over the precipice.

paʔ	kartɔ	lanaŋ	wadɔn	kəblunḍuŋ	juraŋ
[father	(Karto	<male>	<female>)]	[(is) fallen]	[precipice]
$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M	M	m-M	M

In the [S phrase], the morpheme glossed father serves as a respect title ($\frac{m}{M}$) rather than phrase nucleus ($\frac{M}{m}$) before the phrase nucleus in parentheses with wedges indicating and relationship. Karto is modified; the alternate modifiers follow.

(36) Her parents were visiting her grandfather.

bapaʔ ibune lagi tiliʔ əmbae

[(<father><mother>)-her] [ing visit] [grandfather-her]

M M-m m M M-m

Wedges in the parentheses enclosing glosses for the [S phrase] indicate and relationship; the minor morpheme glossed her is modifier to the parentheses as a whole.

(37) Buy a book!

kowe tukuɔ buku

[you] [buy-imp.] [book]

M M-m M

(38) Amat wrote on that wall.

amat nulisi tembɔʔ kuwi

[Amat] [write] [wall that]

M m-M-m M M

(39) Yono ate banana again and again.

yɔnɔ iki bola bali maŋan gəḍaŋ

[Yono this] [(return-return) eat] [banana]

M M $\frac{m}{M}$ $\frac{m}{M}$ m-M M

The reduplicated gloss in parentheses functions as modifier before modified morpheme glossed eat.

(40) Father is repairing the house.

bapaʔ ndandani omah

[father] [repair] [house]

$\frac{M}{m}$ m-M-m M

The [S phrase] shows the morpheme for father functioning as phrase nucleus ($\frac{M}{m}$) rather than as a respect term ($\frac{m}{M}$) before phrase nucleus as in other sentences, above.

(41) Yono's father has two pigeons.

bapaʔe yɔnɔ duwe manuʔ dɔrɔ loro

[father-his Yono] [own] [(bird-pigeon) two]

M-m M M M - M M

The parentheses in the [O phrase] point to a compound which shows the usual modified - modifier order.

(42) The man shoots two tigers.

wɔŋ iku mbəḍil macan loro

[man that] [shoot] [tiger two]

M M m-M M M

Sentences (43) and (44) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [IOphrase]. The last or Indirect Object phrase may begin with a phrase introducer, glossed for, as in (44), and [I O phrase]'s are so introduced when the speaker senses a possible ambiguity without one, e.g. (44) might be read Sister bought a bookshelf for the books in a sentence differing from (44) by absence of phrase introducer in [IO phrase].

(43) Sister bought mother a book.

mbakyu nukɔʔake buku ibu

[sister]$_a$ [buy - for]$_b$ [book]$_c$ [mother]$_d$
M m-M - m M M

The phrase sequence may be reordered from abcd, as cited to:

b c d a

b d c a

a b d c

(44) Sister bought some books for the bookshelf.

mbakyu nukɔˀake buku kaŋgo raˀbuku
[sister]$_a$ [buy - for]$_b$ [book]$_c$ [for bookshelf]$_d$
M m-M - m M m M-M

Compare the last phrase of (43) glossed mother; the speaker could optionally begin this phrase with a phrase introducer such as occurs in the last phrase of (44). Sentence (44) may be reordered from abcd, as cited, to bcda.

Sentences (45) to (50) show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [Inter. phrase]. These sentences may also be reordered non-contrastively to [V phrase] [Inter. phrase] [S phrase] profile. Indeed, sentences (51) and (52) show the latter profile — [V phrase] [Inter. phrase] [S phrase] — which may be reordered to the profile first cited — [S phrase] [V phrase] [Inter. phrase].

(45) Where's your father going?

bapaˀmu məňaŋ əndi
[father-your] [go] [where]
M-m M M

(46) What are you eating?

kowe maŋan ɔpɔ

[you] [eat] [what]

M m-M M

(47) What are you doing?

kowe lagi ɔpɔ

[you] [busy] [what]

M M M

(48) What is the child doing?

bocah kuwi lagi ɔpɔ

[child that] [busy] [what]

M M M M

(49) What is the man eating?

wɔŋ kuwi lagi maŋan ɔpɔ

[man that] [ing eat] [what]

M M m m-M M

(50) What is the boy reading?

bocah kuwi lagi mɔcɔ ɔpɔ

[child that] [ing read] [what]

M M M m-M M

(51) What's he herding?

lagi aŋɔn ɔpɔ dɛˀe

[ing herd] [what] [he]

m M M M

(52) What is the man eating?

lagi maŋan ɔpɔ wɔŋ kuwi

[ing eat] [what] [man that]

m m-M M M M

Sentences (53) to (56) show the profile [Inter. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase]. The morphemes in the first or [Inter. phrase] of this profile are non-identical with the morphemes in the last or [Inter. phrase] of profile exemplified by sentences (45) to (50) above.

(53) When will your father come back?

kapan bapaˀmu kondur

[when]$_a$ [father-your]$_b$ [come back]$_c$

M M-m M

Sentence (53) above, and sentences (54) and (55) below, may be reordered non-contrastively from abc to acb, bca, bac, and cab.

(54) When did your mother go?

kapan ibumu tindaˀ

[when]$_a$ [mother-your]$_b$ [go]$_c$

M M-m M

(55) When are you coming?

kapan kowe arəp təkɔ

[when]$_a$ [you]$_b$ [will come]$_c$

M M M M

(56) Why did he run away?

geneyɔ ḍɛˀe miŋgat

[why]$_a$ [he]$_b$ [run away]$_c$

M M M

Sentence (56) may be non-contrastively reordered from abc to acb, bca, and bac.

The profile for sentences (57) to (63) is [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase]. This may be reordered non-contrastively to give a [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase] profile.

(57) I am not eating.

aku ora maŋan

[I] [not] [eat]

M M m-M

(58) He isn't eating.

ḍɛˀe ora maŋan

[he] [not] [eat]

M M m-M

(59) You aren't eating.

kowe ora maŋan

[you] [not] [eat]

M M m-M

(60) I haven't finished my drawing.

olɛh ku ŋgambar duruŋ rampuŋ

[manner-my draw] [not yet] [ready]

m-m m-M m M

(61) He's still ailing.

larane ora mari mari

[sick-his] [not] [cured-cured]

M-m M M-M

A closer free translation might be His sickness is by no means cured yet.

(62) They haven't brought the paper yet.

korane duruŋ təkɔ

[paper] [not yet] [arrive]

M-m M M

Or, The paper hasn't come yet.

(63) The teacher of my friend's son is never sick.

gurune anaˀe kancaku ora tau lɔrɔ

[teacher-his offspring-his friend-my] [not once] [sick]

M-m M-m M-m M m M

The gloss for offspring is rendered in the free translation as son but might just as well be daughter, since neither sex of offspring nor age of offspring is specified.

Sentences (64) to (68) show the profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. This profile may be reordered non-contrastively to give a [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [S phrase] profile.

(64) He never eats rice and vegetables.

ḍɛˀe ora tau maŋan səgɔ lan jaŋanan

[he] [not once] [eat] [cooked rice and vegetable]

M M m m-M M m M-m

(65) Mr. Krama doesn't want to send a letter.

paˀ krɔmɔ ora gələm kirim layaŋ

[father Krama] [not] [want send] [letter]

$\frac{m}{M}$ M M M M M

(66) No one is allowed to enter this room.

sɔpɔ wae ora kənɔ mləbu kamar iki

[who so-ever] [not] [allow enter] [room this]

M m M M m-M M M

(67) I cannot help you.

aku ora isɔ nuluŋi kowe

[I] [not] [can help] [you]

M M m m-M-m M

(68) He does not listen to me.

bocah iku ra nurut kanḍaku

[child that] [not] [follow] [word-my]

M m M m-M M-m

(69) I, myself, hate neither Dutchmen nor Japanese.

aku ki ora səŋit lɔndɔ // ora səŋit jəpaŋ

[I this] [not] [hate] [Dutchmen]//[not] [hate] [Japanese]

M M M M M M M M

Sentence (69) above has the profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]//[Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase], and can be reordered non-contrastively by moving the [S phrase] after the final [O phrase]. Double slant lines give place of pause juncture.

Sentences (70) to (72) show the profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase]. For all three sentences, the profile may be reordered from abc to bac, acb, cab, cba, and bca.

(70) At this time auntie must be sleeping.

yah mene iki buliʔ məsṭine lagi sare

[time like-this this] [aunt] [must-the ing sleep]

M M M M M m m M

(71) I am going out tomorrow.

sesuʔ aku arəp luŋɔ

[tomorrow] [I] [will go]

M M m M

(72) Every day he doesn't do anything but wander up and down aimlessly.

sabən dinɔ gawene muŋ kluyuran wae

[every day] [work-his] [only wander merely]

m M M-m m M-m m

A closer free translation: His work lacks direction every day.

Sentences (73) and (74) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase], and this too may be non-contrastively reordered to [V phrase][L phrase] [S phrase].

(73) My brother is going to go to America.

kakaŋku	arəp	luŋɔ	məñaŋ	amerika
[older brother-my]	[will	go]	[to	America]
M-m	m	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M

The final or[L phrase] begins with a phrase introducer which functions as a minor morpheme, and is glossed to; in other phrases it may function as a major morpheme ($\frac{M}{m}$) when it is glossed go to.

(74) The teacher is writing on the board.

guru	kuwi	lagi	nulis	iŋ	blabak
[teacher	that]	[ing	write]	[on	black-board]
M	m	m	m-M	m	M

Sentences (75) and (76) show the profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase]. This profile — shown as a b c d — may be reordered non-contrastively to bcda, bcad, adbc, dabc, and dbca. Thus, sentences (77) and (78) show the profile [S phrase] [L phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] (or adbc when compared with the profile of sentences (75) and (76)), while the profile for sentence (79) is [L phrase] [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase].

(75) Grandfather is not going to come today. (presently).

simbah	ora	rawuh	məŋko
[granny]	[not]	[come]	[presently]
m-M	M	M	M

The final [L phrase] here localizes time.

(76) Mother hasn't arrived yet from Malang.

ibu duruŋ rawuh sɔkɔ malaŋ

[Mother] [not yet] [arrive] [from Malang]

M M M m M

The final [L phrase] here localizes position.

(77) Granny hasn't been willing to eat these three days.

əmbah wis təluŋ dinɔ ora kərsɔ ḍahar

[grandparent] [already three day] [not] [want eat]

M $\frac{m}{M}$ M M M M M

An attempt to hint at the low level of politeness in this sentence, and the more elevated level of (78) is changing the free translation from granny (77) to grandfather (78).

(78) Grandfather hasn't been willing to eat these three days.

əmbah sampun tigaŋ dintən mbɔtən kərsɔ ḍahar

[grandparent] [already three days] [not] [want eat]

M $\frac{m}{M}$ M M M M M

The morpheme glossed grandparent is given in free translation as grandfather; it might just as well have been rendered grandmother.

(79) In his old age Grandpa doesn't want to smoke.

barəŋ wis səpuh əmbah ki ra kərsɔ udut

[when already old] [grandparent this] [not] [want smoke]

$\frac{m}{M}$ $\frac{m}{M}$ M M M M M M

Sentences (80) to (84) show the profile [S phrase]$_a$[V phrase]$_b$[O phrase]$_c$ [L phrase]$_d$. Additional profiles are obtained when this profile is reordered from abcd to dabc, bcda, and bcad. Sentences (81), (82), and (83) have in the third or [L phrase] a phrase introducer marking positional location.

(80) The boy reads a book in his room.

bocah iku mɔcɔ buku iŋ kamare

[child that] [read] [book] [in room-his]

M M m-M M m M-m

(81) Mrs. Darma lost her money in the market.

mbɔʔ darmɔ kelaŋan ḍuwit iŋ pasar

[mother Darma] [lose] [money] [in market]

$\frac{m}{M}$ M m-M-m M m M

The first morpheme in the [S phrase] functions as a minor morpheme ($\frac{m}{M}$) before the major morpheme phrase nucleus. In other sentences it appears as phrase nucleus ($\frac{M}{m}$).

(82) Yati is busy picking up jasmins in the garden.

yati lagi məṭiʔi kəmbaŋ mlaṭi iŋ latar

[Yati] [busy pick up] [flower jasmin] [in garden]

M M m-M-m M M m M

In the third or [O phrase] the two major morphemes are related to each other as modified - modifier.

(83) Mother bathes my little sister in the bathroom.

ibu ŋədusi aḍiʔ iŋ kolah

[mother] [bathe] [younger sibling] [in bathroom]

M m-M-m M m M

Or, Mother bathes my little brother...; sex of sibling is not distinguished, but age is (little for younger in free translation).

(84) Mr. Nata missed the train yesterday.

mas nɔtɔ kəpañcal səpur ḍɛʔ wiŋi

[male Nata] [(is) kicked] [train] [time yesterday]

$\frac{m}{M}$ M m-M M m M

Perhaps a closer free translation: The train kicked him—made him miss. In the last phrase of sentence (84) above, the phrase introducer is a minor morpheme.

Sentence (85) has the profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [Inter. phrase]. These phrases may be reordered non-contrastively from abcd to profiles bcda, cdba, acdb, cdab, and bacd.

(85) Where are you going to go tomorrow?

sesuʔ kowe arəp məñaŋ əndi

[tomorrow]$_a$ [you]$_b$ [will go to]$_c$ [where]$_d$

M M $\frac{m}{M}$ $\frac{M}{m}$ m

The phrase nucleus in the third or [V phrase] glossed go to here functions as a major morpheme ($\frac{M}{m}$); in other phrases it may function as a minor morpheme and is then glossed simply to.

(86) My cat fell down the well yesterday.

dɛʔ wiŋi kucinku kəcəbluŋ iŋ sumur

[time yesterday]$_a$ [cat-my]$_b$ [(is) fallen]$_c$ [in well]$_d$
m M M-m m-M m M

Sentence (86), above, and sentence (87), following, have the profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase]. This may be reordered non-contrastively from abcd to bacd, bcda, cdab, cdba, bcda, and acdb.

(87) Early in the morning the good peasant is ploughing his rice-field.
esuʔesuʔ paʔtani wis mluku iŋ sawah
[morning-morning]$_a$ [(father-peasant)]$_b$ [already plough]$_c$ [in rice-field]$_d$
M-M M-M m m-M m M

In the second or [S phrase], the compound includes the member for father (paʔ) as well as that for peasant (tani), yielding an affectionate tone, as indicated in the free translation.

(88) Buy that book!
buku kuwi tukunən
[book that] [buy - imp.]
M M M-m

Sentence (88) shows an [O phrase] [V phrase] profile, which may be reordered non-contrastively to a [V phrase] [O phrase] profile. Subject is not specified. In sentence (88) as well as (89), following, the [V phrase] includes a minor morpheme marking imperative.

(89) Read this book!
wacanən buku iki
[read - imp.] [book this]
M-m M M

Sentence (89) shows the [V phrase] [O phrase] profile. This may be reordered to [O phrase] [V phrase].

(90) Buy mother a book!

ibu   tukɔ   ʔnɔ   buku

[mother]   [buy   for]   [book]

M   M   M   M

Sentence (90) shows a profile [I O phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]; the sentence is imperative, but imperative marker is not included in [V phrase].

The remaining sentences are given without comment (apart from occasional mention of possible non-contrastive reorderings).

(91) She slowly wrote a letter.

olɛe   nulis   layaŋ   alɔnalɔn

[manner - her   write]$_a$ [letter]$_b$ [slow-slow]$_c$

M-m   m-M   M   M-M

Another order: cab.

(92) What did you give your little brother?

aḑi   mu   kɔʔ   wɛnɛi   ɔpɔ

[younger brother - your]$_a$ [you - give]$_b$ [what]$_c$

M - m   m - M - m   M

Another order: bca.

(93) How much is your book?

pirɔ   rəgane   bukumu

[how much]$_a$ [price-the]$_b$ [book-your]$_c$

M   M-m   M-m

Other orders: bca, cba, bac, acb, and cab.

(94) What's his child's name?

anaˀe kae jənəŋe sɔpɔ

[child-his there]$_a$ [name-the]$_b$ [who]$_c$

M-m M M-M M

Another order: acb; another free translation: What's her child's name?

(95) I fried quickly these peanuts.

olεhku ŋgorεŋ kacaŋ iki ageyage

[manner-my fry]$_a$ [peanut this]$_b$ [quick-quick]$_c$

m-m m-M M M M-M

Other orders: bca, cab, and bac.

(96) His head is swollen.

ənḍase bəňjut

[head-his]$_a$ [swollen]$_b$

M-m M

Another order: ba.

(97) His head was knocked against the door.

ənḍase kətatap lawaŋ

[head-his]$_a$ [(is) knocked]$_b$ [door]$_c$

M-m m-M M

Another order: bca.

(98) His head is swollen from being knocked against the door.

ənḍase bəňjut kətatap lawaŋ

[head-his]$_a$ [swollen]$_b$ [(is) knocked]$_c$ [door]$_d$

M-m M m-M M

Other orders: bacd, acdb, cdba, cdab, and bcda.

(99) Finish eating the sugar cane!

olɛhmu maŋan təbu kuwi tutuknɔ

[way-your eat]$_a$ [sugar-cane that]$_b$ [finish-imp.]$_c$

M-m m-M M M M-m

Other orders: bca and bac.

(100) This flower has clearly withered.

kəmbaŋ iki təraŋ wis alum

[flower this]$_a$ [clear already withered]$_b$

M M $\frac{m}{M}$ $\frac{m}{M}$ M

Another order: ba.

(101) There's a thief.

ɔnɔ maliŋ

[is thief]

m M

(102) Why did you pull your brother's ear?

geneyɔ aḍimu kɔʔjɛwɛr kupiŋe

[why]$_a$ [brother-your]$_b$ [you-pull]$_c$ [ear-his]$_d$

M M-m m-M M-m

Other orders: acdb, adbc, bacd, bdac, dbac, and dbca.

(103) In other words, her parents did not agree.

gampaŋe wɔŋtuwane ora sətuju

[easy-the]$_a$ [parents-her]$_b$ [not]$_c$ [agree]$_d$

M-m M-m M M

Other orders: bcda, bacd, and acdb.

(104) I'm surprised you are taking a bath in the river at night.

beŋibeŋi kowe kɔˀ adus kali

[night-night]$_a$ [you]$_b$ [surprise]$_c$ [bathe river]$_d$

M-M M M M M

Other orders: acdb, bcda, bacd, cdba, and cdab.

(105) Who's playing?

sɔpɔ siŋ dolanan

[who]$_a$ [who play]$_b$

M m M-m

Another order: ba.

(106) The boys are fishing in the river.

bocahbocah pɔdɔ maňciŋ iŋ kali

[child-child]$_a$ [all]$_b$ [fish]$_c$ [in river]$_d$

M-M M m-M m M

Another order: bcda.

(107) He is fortunate that he wants to work.

wis pirɔ pirɔ ḍɛˀe gələm ňambutgawe

[already how much-how much]$_a$ [he]$_b$ [want work]$_c$

$\frac{m}{M}$ M-M M M M

Another order: cab.

(108) It is the shepherd who's playing there.

siŋ dolanan kae bocah aŋɔn
[who play there]$_a$ [child herd]$_b$
m M-m M M M

Another order: ba.

(109) Who's playing there?

sɔpɔ siŋ dolanan kae
[who]$_a$ [who play there]$_b$
M m M-m M

Another order: ba

(110) Why do you keep asking all the time?

kowe ki pijər takɔn takɔn wae
[you this]$_a$ [continuously ask-ask merely]$_b$
M M m M-M m

Another order: ba.

(111) The Chinese in Java are better off then those in their own country.

cinɔcinɔ iŋ tanah jɔwɔ ki penaʔ uripe
[Chinese-Chinese]$_a$ [in land Java this]$_b$ [comfortable life-their]$_c$
M-M m M - M M M M-m

timbaŋ iŋ nəgarane ḍewe
[than in country-their own]$_d$
m m M-m M

Another order: from (ab) (cd) to (cd) (ab).

(112) Do you think we Javanese are lazy people?

kiramu wcŋ jɔwɔ ki kəsɛtkəsɛt ɔpɔ

[guess-your]$_a$ [man Java this]$_b$ [lazy-lazy]$_c$ [interrog.]$_d$

M-m M M M M-M M

Other orders: acdb, badc, bcda, and cdba.

(113) I think that Chinese are industrious and serious in their work.

kiraku cinɔ cinɔ iku srəgəpsrəgəp lan

[guess-my]$_a$ [Chinese-Chinese that]$_b$ [diligent-diligent]$_c$ [and]$_d$

M-m M-M M M-M m

təməntəməh

[serious-serious]$_e$

M-M

Other orders: bcdea, acdeb, bacde, cdeab, and cdeba.

(114) Who in the world wants to live in difficulty like that?

sɔpɔ wɔŋə gələm rəkɔsɔ kɔyɔ ŋono

[who] [man] [want difficult] [like that]

M M-m $\frac{m}{M}$ M m M

(115) My brother, who is a third grader, can sing beautifully.

aḍiku lagi klas təlu wis pintər nəmbaŋ

[brother-my]$_a$ [just class three]$_b$ [already clever sing]$_c$

M-m m M M $\frac{m}{M}$ M m-M

Another order: bac.

(116) I don't know why I got money from Grandfather.

mənəŋmənəŋ aku dipariŋi əmbah ḍuwit

[quiet-quiet]$_a$ [I]$_b$ [given]$_c$ [grandfather]$_d$ [money]$_e$.

M-M M m-M-m M M

Other orders: acdeb, bacde, bcdea, cdeab and cdeba.

(117) We'd better start off right now.

bəciˀe ayo pɔdɔ buḍal saiki wae

[good-the]$_a$ [let all start]$_b$ [now only]$_c$

M-m m M M M m

Other orders: acb, bca.

(118) What do you think of me?

bapaˀ ki kɔˀpaḍaˀake ɔpɔ

[father this]$_a$ [you-equalize]$_b$ [what]$_c$

M M m-M-m M

Another order: bca.

(119) The county-head is busy preparing his daughter's marriage.

dəmaŋe repɔt arəp mantu

[county-head-the]$_a$ [busy]$_b$ [future marry daughter]$_c$

M-m M m M

Another order: bca.

(120) Your ancestors were courageous people,

əmbahəmbahmu biyɛn ki wɛŋ siŋ

[grandfather-grandfather]$_a$ [formerly this]$_b$ [man]$_c$ [who

M-M M M M m

kəndəlkəndəl

courageous-courageous]$_d$

M-M

Another order: bacd.

(121) Do not write on that wall.

ɔjɔ nulisi tembɔʔ kuwi

[do not]$_a$ [write]$_b$ [wall that]$_c$

M m-M-m M M

Another order: acb.

(122) Father seems a little unwell.

bapaʔ sajaʔe rɔdɔ gərah

[father]$_a$ [appearance-the]$_b$ [a little sick]$_c$

M M-m M M

Other orders: bac, bca, acb, cba, and cab.

(123) Who said "You are stupid?"

sɔpɔ kɔnḍɔ//kowe gəblək

[who] [say]//[you] [stupid]

M M M M

(124) If you are naughty, I am not going to give you money.

yεn kowe nakal // ora taʔwεnεi ḍuwit

[if] [you] [naughty]//[not] [I- give] [money]

m M M m m-M M

(125) You teach that small child reading.

bocah ciliʔ kuwi wulaŋən mɔcɔ

[child small that]$_a$ [teach-imp. read]$_b$

M M M M-m m-M

Another order: ba.

(126) My little brother is going to the market.

aḍiku lagi məñaŋ pasar

[(little) brother-my]$_a$ [ing go to]$_b$ [market]$_c$

M-m m M M

Another order: bca.

(127) There are many people in the mountains.

akɛh wɔŋ iŋ pəgunuŋan iku

[many]$_a$ [man]$_b$ [in mountain that]$_c$

M M m m-M-m M

Another order: bca.

(128) When I was a small boy I used to steal my neighbor's mangoes.

ḍɛʔ ciliʔ gaweku ñɔlɔŋ pələme taŋgaku

[time small]$_a$ [work-my]$_b$ [steal]$_c$ [mango-his neighbor-my]$_d$

m M M-m M M-m M-m

Another order: bcda.

(129) If one is sick, one ought to go to a doctor.

yɛn lɔrɔ // kudu məñaŋ ḍɔktər

[if]$_a$ [sick]$_b$//[must go]$_c$[doctor]$_d$

m M m M M

Another order: cdab.

(130) His proposal was turned down.

lamarane ditampi?

[proposal-his]$_a$ [turn down]$_b$

M-m m-M

Another order: ba.

Javanese structure of the 'word' included in phrases is merely pointed to by formula under the glosses in brackets in the preceding sentence sample. In this final note on Javanese we attempt to relate the formula used in the sentence sample to the important morphophonemic discoveries made by E. M. Uhlenbeck, De Structuur het Javaanse Morphem (Bandung, 1949). The conditions under which morphophonemic changes may occur are stated in terms of

(1) 'root morpheme'; this is an equivalent term for our major morpheme (M);

(2) 'suffix'; our equivalent term for this is minor morpheme (-m);

(3) 'prefix'; minor morpheme (m-) is our equivalent for affixes of both the preposed or prefix kind and of the postposed or suffix kind (there are no infixes in Javanese, except in writing, and the sentences in our sample represent spoken Javanese); our term 'minor morpheme' (and the m or $\frac{m}{M}$ in formula) is also applied to 'particles', but these are not generally involved in Uhlenbeck's morphophonemic changes;

(4) 'reduplication' is indicated in the sample of sentences by repetition of the gloss, but cooccurring vowel changes in some kinds of reduplication are not pointed to as distinct from reduplication without such vowel change.

For root morphemes in morphemic combinations, morphophonemic changes may occur as follows:

when a root morpheme precedes suffix;

when a root morpheme follows prefix;

when a reduplicated form precedes suffix;

when a reduplicated form undergoes some vowel change.

The suffixes listed are: -akən, -ake, -nɔ, -ne, -i, -ɔnɔ, -ane, -an, -ən, -e, -ipun, -ɔ, -ku, -mu.

Changes of vowel in closed final syllable are:

(1) $\begin{bmatrix}\text{ɔ}\\ \text{ε}\end{bmatrix}$ C + -ɔ, -an appear as $\begin{bmatrix}\text{o}\\ \text{e}\end{bmatrix}$ C + -ɔ, -an.

(2) $\begin{bmatrix}\text{o}\\ \text{e}\end{bmatrix}$ C + -ɔ, -e, -i, -ɔnɔ, -ane, -an, -ən appear as $\begin{bmatrix}\text{u}\\ \text{i}\end{bmatrix}$ C + -ɔ, -e, -i, -ɔnɔ, -ane, -an, -ən.

Changes of vowel in open final syllable are:

(1) -V + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\\ \text{-nɔ}\\ \text{-ne}\end{bmatrix}$ appear as -V? + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\\ \text{-nɔ}\\ \text{-ne}\end{bmatrix}$

(2) -V + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-i}\\ \text{-ɔnɔ}\\ \text{-ane}\\ \text{-ən}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ipun}\end{bmatrix}$ appear as -Vn + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-i}\\ \text{-ɔnɔ}\\ \text{-ane}\\ \text{-ən}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ipun}\end{bmatrix}$

(3) -ɔ + x appear as -a + x (x = any suffix other than -ɔ and -an); but -ɔ + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-an}\end{bmatrix}$ appear as -o + $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-an}\end{bmatrix}$

$$(4)\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{-o, -u}\\ \text{-e, -i}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\\ \text{-nɔ}\\ \text{-ne}\\ \text{-i}\\ \text{-ɔnɔ}\\ \text{-ane}\\ \text{(-ipun)}\end{bmatrix} \text{ appear as } \begin{bmatrix}\text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-ɛ}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\\ \text{-nɔ}\\ \text{-ne}\\ \text{-i}\\ \text{-ɔnɔ}\\ \text{-ane}\\ \text{(-ipun)}\end{bmatrix}$$

Consonant changes in roots ending in -h:

$$(1)\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{-a}\\ \text{-ɔ}\end{bmatrix} + \text{h} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-i}\\ \text{-an}\\ \text{-ən}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ɔ}\end{bmatrix} \text{ appear as } \begin{bmatrix}\text{-a}\\ \text{-ɔ}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\varnothing\\ \text{h}\\ \text{h}\\ \text{h}\\ \text{h}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-i}\\ \text{-an}\\ \text{-ən}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ɔ}\end{bmatrix}$$

$$(2)\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{-}C_1 \begin{Bmatrix}\text{u}\\ \text{o}\end{Bmatrix}\\ \text{-}C_2 \begin{Bmatrix}\text{i}\\ \text{e}\end{Bmatrix}\\ \text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-ɛ}\end{bmatrix} + \text{h} + \text{x appear as } \begin{bmatrix}\text{-}C_1 \begin{Bmatrix}\text{u}\\ \text{o}\end{Bmatrix}\\ \text{-}C_2 \begin{Bmatrix}\text{i}\\ \text{e}\end{Bmatrix}\\ \text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-ɛ}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{w}\\ \text{y}\\ \text{h}\\ \text{h}\end{bmatrix} + \text{x}$$

(C_1 = any consonant other than /w/; C_2 = any consonant other than /y/; x = -i, -an, -ən, -e, -ɔ.)

$$(3)\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{-o}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-ɛ}\end{bmatrix} + \text{h} + \text{-e} = \begin{bmatrix}\text{-o}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-ɔ}\\ \text{-ɛ}\end{bmatrix} + \varnothing + \text{-e.}$$

Consonant changes in roots ending in -n:

$$\text{-n} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\end{bmatrix} \text{ appear as -ʔ (-n)} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{-ake}\\ \text{-akən}\end{bmatrix}$$

Prefix + root combinations show that:

$$(1)\quad \text{Ca-} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{a}\\ \text{o}\\ \text{i}\end{bmatrix} \text{x} + \text{-ən appear as C} \begin{bmatrix}\text{a}\\ \text{o}\\ \text{i}\end{bmatrix} \text{x} + \text{-ən}$$

(x = any sequence or string of phonemes in a root)

(2) Ca- + ix + -an appear as Ce + x + -an

(x = root, as above.)

(3) Ca- + $\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ x appear as C $\begin{bmatrix} e \\ o \end{bmatrix}$ x

(x = root, as above.)

If the second member of the reduplication undergoes some change as described above, the first member also undergoes the same change (except for: sadɔwɔ dawane < dɔwɔ long) in reduplicated form + suffix.

Reduplication with vowel change shows that

(1) C $\begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon \\ V_1 \end{bmatrix}$ CV_2 (C) appear as C $\begin{bmatrix} e \\ o \end{bmatrix}$ Ca (C) + C $\begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon \\ V_1 \end{bmatrix}$ CV_2 (C)

(V_1 = /a/or /ɔ/; V_2 = any vowel other than /a/.)

(2) CV_1 CV (C) appear as CV_1 Ca (C) + CV_1 CV (C)

(V_1 = any vowel other than /a, ɔ/.)

(3) C $\begin{bmatrix} V_1 \\ V_2 \end{bmatrix}$ Ca C appear as C $\begin{bmatrix} V_1 \\ V_2 \end{bmatrix}$ Ca C + C $\begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon \\ V_2 \end{bmatrix}$ CεC

(V_1 = /a, e, o/; V_2 = any vowel other than V_1.)

SUNDANESE

4.6. Information on the sound system of Sundanese that is given above (4.2) shows that the consonants of this language maximize symmetry of contrasts among constants. The four nasals, the four voiced stops and the four voiceless stops all make the same linear distinctions—beside two liquids and two semivowels. The vowel type is fairly symmetrical—3(FCB) over N—and the vowels are nasalized when they occur in the interval between nasal consonant and either oral consonant or word final; this on-going nasalizing of vowels skips the pluralizing infix / ar ~ al / which is non-nasalizable. This might be called 'nasal harmony'(on the analogy of 'vowel harmony').

The most divergent dialect of Sundanese is Batam Sundanese spoken in the extreme west of Java. The Sundanese represented in the following sample is that spoken by Nur Asmara and his Sundanese mother; it represents Sundanese as spoken in Djakarta—a dialect that is sometimes characterized as 'peculiar' from the point of view of more typical dialects in western Java. The following sentences may further reflect Bahasa Indonesia influence or loans, since Nur Asmara spoke Bahasa Indonesia as his first language.

Information on the Sundanese sound system, above, is derived from three articles by R. H. Robins in Studies in Linguistic Analysis (Oxford, 1957), and from Rukmantoro Hadi Sumuktis unpublished master's thesis (Indiana University, 1958). The following list of affixes is excerpted from R. H. Robins, Nominal and Verbal Derivation in Sundanese, Lingua 8: 4. 337ff (1959), in which N stands for noun or nominal and V for verb. Where the function of an affix is transformative, it is symbolized either as NV (e.g. N + affix = V), or as VN (e.g. V + affix = N). Where the function of an affix is non-transformative or status quo—that is, with the affixed form remaining in the same form class as the unaffixed form—it is symbolized either as NN (e.g. $N_1 + \text{affix} = N_2$) or as VV (e.g. $V_1 + \text{affix} = V_2$).

Prefixes are numbered 1 to 17:

1.	ba-	adverbial, reciprocal	NN VV NV
2.	baraŋ-	habitual	VV
3.	saŋ-		NV
4.	si-		NV
5.	ka-	ordinal, adverbial, contracted, abstract	NN VV NV VN
6.	pa-	contrasted, reciprocal, accidental	NN VV NV VN
7.	paŋ-	reason, concrete, superlative (in seq. with -na)	NN VN
8.	pər-~pri-~pra-		NN VN
9.	pi-		VV NV VN
10.	sa-	one, whole, all, equative, abstract, temporal, concessive ...	NN VV VN
11.	silih-	reciprocal-deliberate	VV
12.	ti-	falling	VV
13.	tiŋ-~patiŋ-	plural	VV

Suffixes:

14.	-an	repetitive, comparative, contrasted	NN VV NV VN
15.	-kṫn	causative, intensive	VV NV
16.	-niŋ~-iŋ	adverbial	NN VN
17.	-ṫn	adverbial	NN VV NV VN

Infixes are numbered 18 and 19:

18.	-in-	VV VN
19.	-um-	VV NV

The following combinations of prefix plus suffix have the following consequences on form class:

5....14	NN VV NV VN
5....15	NN
6....14	NN VV NV VN
7....14	NN VN
7....15	VV
8....14	VN
9....14	NN NV
9....17	NN VV NV VN
10...15	NV
10...17	NN

Three types of reduplication are also used in derivation:

(1) of initial syllable

(2) of initial syllable plus /ŋ/

(3) reduplication of root

In addition, there are eleven combinations in which affixes from the inventory above are combined with reduplication.

Sentences (1) and (2), following, show [Topic] [Comment] profile.

(1) That was around 1945.

njaetaʔ	kira kira	taun	opat	puluh	lima
[that]	[guess-guess	(year	four	ten	five)]
m-m	M - M	M	M	M	M

(2) My father's name is Sastrapradja.

bapaʔ	kuring	ngaran-naʔ	sastrapradja
[father	my]	[name-poss.	Sastrapradja]
M	m	M - m	M

Sentence (3) to (6) below end in Location phrase (locating time or place), and show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase]. But the profile for sentence (7), following, begins with a Location of time, and ends with a Location of space: [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase].

(3) I graduated after about three years.

kuring	tamat	tina	djeroʔ	tilu	taun	sa-tengah
[I]	[finish]	[in	within	three	year	one-half]

(4) I immediately applied to several universities.

kuring	terns	nga-ádju-kĕn	ka-saba-ba-rahaʔ	universitas
[I]	[immediately	m-submit-m]	[to- pl. -how many	universities]

(5) I continued my studies in the junior high school.

kuring	nga-landjut-kĕn	sakolaʔ	di-sakolaʔ	menengah	pertama
[I]	[m-advance-m	school]	[in-school	middle	first]

(6) I finished my elementary school studies during the Japanese occupation.

kuring	tamat	ti	sakolaʔ	rakjat	waktu	djaman	pen-duduk-an	djepang
[I]	[finish]	[from	(school	people)]	[when	(period	m- sit -m	Japanese)]

(7) At the end of 1951 I moved to Bandung.

nja	dinaʔ	ahir	taun	lima	puluh	hidjiʔ	kuring	pindah	ka	bandung
[intro.	(in	end)	(year	five	ten	one)]	[I]	[move]	[to	bandung]

Sentence (8) exemplifies a first phrase with subject embedded in the profile [SE—V phrase] [L phrase]. The subject is said to be embedded in a phrase when morphemes for 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person are flanked by preceding phrase introducer (and possibly also by pre-verb) and by following phrase nucleus verb.

(8) I was forced to work in the morning.

nja? ka-paksa kuring di-gawe? isuk-isuk

[introducer m-force I m-work] [morning-morning]

Sentences (9) and (10) show profile [S phrase] [Verb phrase] [L phrase] [L phrase].

(9) I stayed there for only eight days.

kuring tjitjing di-ditu wae oge? aja? dalapan

[I] [stay] [at-there] [just only exist eight

poe-na?

day-poss.]

(10) I am going to the market early tomorrow morning.

kuring rek ka pasar isukan isuk isuk pisan

[I] [will] [to market] [tomorrow (morning-morning) early]

Sentence (11) shows profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(11) He only gave me 100 rupees.

maneh-na ngan mere? duit sa-ratus perak

[he] [only give] [money one-hundred rupiah]

The remaining sentences in our sample are tentatively phrased, and as above, indirectly so, with square brackets enclosing glosses for phrase interiors, but are not classified for their profiles.

(12) Because I had nothing, I was forced to work in the morning.

ku-lantaran kuring mah djelema? anu hentĕ? tjukup ||

[because I m man] [who not enough]

nja? ka-paksa kuring di-gawe? isuk-isuk

[intro pass. force I v. work] [morning-morning]

(13) Fortunately, I was graduated in only a year and a half.

kebeneran	ngan	ukur	sa-taun	sa-tengah	namat-kěn
[fortunately	(only	only)	one-year	one-half]	[end-m]

(14) I could not continue my studies, because I could not afford it.

tidinja?	kuring	hentě	bisa?	nerus-kěn	sakola?	lantaran
[from then	I]	[not	can	(advance-m	school)]	[because
hentě	mampuh					
not	able]					

(15) I am called here Didin Sastrapradja.

kuring	di-diě?	ka-telah-na?	didin	sastrapradja
[I]	[m-here	m- call-poss]	[Didin	Sastrapradja]

(16) At last there were five answers.

nja?	ahir-na?	aja?	lima	panggil-an
[introducer	last-poss.]	[exist]	[five	call-m]

(17) I was forced to work, although I was very busy.

kuring	ka-paksa	di-gawe?	sanadjan	katjida?
[I]	[passive-force	m-work]	[although	(very
ripuh-na?	oge?			
busy-poss)	although]			

(18) My real name is Didin.

ngaran	kuring	anu	sa-bener-na?	didin
[name	my]	[who	one-true-poss.	Didin]
M	m	m	m m m	M

(19) I was confused which one I should take.

kuring	bingung	mana?	nu	kudu	di-pilih
[I]	[confuse	(which	which)	must	m-choose]

(20) At that time my willingness to study was very great.

harita?	teh	napsu	sakola?	katjida?	gede?-na?
[that time]	[emph.	(desire	school)]	[very	great-poss.]
m	m	M	m	M m	M - m

(21) While I was studying, I was also working.

di- bareng -an	djĕ̌ng	sakola?	kuring	oge?	di-gawe?
[at-with same-m	with	school]	[I]	[also	v. work]

(22) I was forced to quit studying and to help my mother who, at that time, had to support her five children.

ka-paksa	ĕ̌rĕ̌n	di-sakola?	djĕ̌ng	terus	nga-bantubantu
[pass. force	stop]	[at-school]	[and	continue	v-(help-help)]

indung	anu	waktu	itu	kudu	nga-hirup-kĕ̌n	lima?
[mother]	[who]	[time	that]	[must	m-alive-m]	[five

pala-putra-na?
pl.-child-poss]

(23) After the Dutch came to Indonesia for the second time, I suddenly had a thought to continue my studies.

tidinja?	di-sanggĕ̌s	belanda?	asup	ka-dua	kali	ka
[from then	at-already]	[Dutch]	[enter]	[ord-two	time]	[to
m	m-m	M	M	m-M	M	m

Indonesia	kuring	ngadadak	boga?	pikir-an	hajang
Indonesia]	[I]	[suddenly	have	think-m.]	[will
M	m	m	M	M-m	M

nerus-kĕ̌n	dĕ̌i	sakola
(advanced-m	again)	school]
M-m	m	M

BUGINESE IN THE CELEBES

4.7. The self-designation of the Buginese people is Ogiʔ; and the Ogiʔ call their language Basa Ogiʔ. These people are famous for their seafaring culture, which formerly included piracy; they are said to have 'colonies' on Ambon in the Moluccas, and on other islands to the east and south and west of the Celebes.

In Malang, Java, two of Samsuri's students served as Buginese informants, and made a half dozen reels of tape; these were translated and transcribed and brought to Indiana University for further analysis by Samsuri. The informants were bilingual; they used Bahasa Indonesia as a lingua franca in Java, but spoke to each other in a dialect of Buginese known as Rappang Ogiʔ. The Celebes village of Pare-Pare is the village in which Djuhadi Massagoni and Bassennang Saliwangi were born and lived until they came to Java to study at Malang.

These Buginese informants made exactly the same consonant distinctions in Buginese that Samsuri makes when he speaks Bahasa Indonesia (see 4.8, following). However, the informants distinguished six rather than eight vowels; the Buginese vowel type is 2 (FCB), since Front, Central and Back vowels are made at two tongue heights:

i ə u

e a o

The phrase interiors in Buginese sentence profiles differ greatly from those of languages sampled which belong to the West Indonesian Hesion; Buginese belongs to the Celebes Hesion.

It is the phrase interiors which serve to distinguish [Topic] [Comment] profile (exemplified in sentences (1) to (6), below) from [Subject] [Verb] profile (sentences (7) to (14) below). The latter include a phrase introducer (prefix) or a closing suffix specifying that the phrase is a [V phrase] . In [T phrase] [C phrase] profile, as well as [S phrase] [V phrase] profile, the first phrase shows modified-modifier order whenever more than one word appears in a phrase. In the second phrase the modifier may precede the modified; for example compare sentences (2) and (7), (8), (14). The first phrase, [S] or [T], is followed by two phrases in (15) to (17), [V phrase] [V phrase].

(1) My name is Bassennang.

asəkku	bassənnaŋ
[name-my]	[Bassennang]
M-m	M

(2) My friend likes walking very much.

sabaʔku	təmmaka	paʔjokkana
[friend-my]	[very	nom. - walk - the]
M-m	M	m-M-m.

(3) This book is his.

boʔ	ewe	anunna	tauwe
[book	this]	[thing-his	man-the]
M	M	M-m	M-m

(4) The heart of a man is as big as his fist.

usona tauwe siloppo paʔjaʔguru

[heart-his man-the] [(same-big) (noun-hit)]

M-m M-m m-M m-M

(5) Grease is gotten from kerosene.

gommoʔe asalənna polei riminnaʔ tanae

[grease source-its] [from loc. (oil-earth)-the]

M-m M-m m m- M - M- m

(6) The water-buffalo is bigger than the goat.

tedoŋŋe ləʔbi rajai na bembeʔe

[water-buffalo-the] [more big-emphatic than goat-the]

M-m M M-m m M-m

(7) All those people are talking.

yamanəŋ tau ero pada maʔbicara

[group man that] [all verb-talk]

M M M M m-M

(8) It is very hot in Surabaya.

risurabaya təmmaka pəllana

[loc..Surabaya] [very hot-it]

m-M M M-m

(9) The ear is used to hear with.

daoccillie ripakei mareŋkaliŋa

[ear-the] [past-use-connector verb-hear]

M-m m-M-m m-M

(10) The man can play soccer well.

tau	ero	macca	maʔgolo
[man	that]	[verb-clever	verb-play soccer]
M	M	m-M	m-M

(11) I feel my bones aching.

bukubukukku	maŋilui	usəʔdiŋ
[bone-bone-my]	[verb-pain-connector	I-feel]
M - M -m	m - M -m	m-M

The reduplication in the [S phrase] marks plural.

(12) That cloud is white.

əlluŋ	ero	mapute	rita
[cloud	that]	[verb-white	past-see]
M	M	m-M	m-M

(13) The leaves of that tree are red.

dauŋ	aju	wero	macəllaʔ	rita
[leaf	tree	that]	[verb-red	past-see]
M	M	M	m-M	m-M

(14) That mountain is far.

buluʔ	ero	matanre	rita
[mountain	that]	[verb-far	past-see]
M	M	m-M	m-M

(15) She is innocent and honest.

atinna	mapacin	na	maləmpu
[heart-her]	[verb-clean]	[and	verb-straight]
M-m	m-M	m	m-M

(16) Her legs are long and beautiful.

ajena	malampe	na	macommoʔ
[leg-her]	[verb-long]	[and	verb-beautiful]
M-m	m-M	m	m-M

(17) The stone is big and heavy.

batu	wero	maloppoi	na	mataneʔ
[stone	that]	[verb-big - connective]	[and	verb-heavy]
M	M	m-M-m	m	m-M

Sentences (18) to (21) show [V phrase] [S phrase]. This is the profile most characteristically found in Polynesia (with [S phrase] [V phrase] more commonly encountered in Melanesia; and this also bears a greater functional load in Buginese). In sentence (21) the profile is echoed: [V phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase] .

(18) The colour of her dress was pretty.

makəssir	rita	balo	wajunna
[verb-pretty	past-see]	[colour	dress-her]
m-M	m-M	M	M-m

(19) My bicycle is broken.

masolaŋŋi	sapedaku
[verb-break-connector]	[bicycle - my]
m-M-m	M-m

(20) The child is very small.

marənniʔ	laʔdəʔ	ananaʔ	ero
[verb-small	very]	[child	that]
m-M	m	M	M

(21) His mouth is bleeding because it was bitten by an ant.

maʔdarai	timunna	nattoaʔ	berebere
[verb-blood]	[mouth-his]	[past-bite]	[ant]
m-M-m	M-m	m-M	M

Sentences (22) and (23) show a single [V phrase], with embedded subject.

(22) I want to go to school.

maeloʔkaʔ	lao	massikola
[verb-want-I	go	verb-school.]
m-M-m	$\frac{m}{M}$	m-M

(23) I am very hungry.

təmmaka	liwasəkku
[very	hungry-my]
m	M-m

(24) The neck of the chicken was cut with a knife.

alonna	manuʔe	rigere	piso

[neck-its]	[chicken-the]	[past-cut]	[knife]
M-m	M-m	m-M	M

Sentence (24) shows the profile [Poss. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase]. A closer free translation might be The chicken's neck was knifed. If /piso/ knife was meant to be the nucleus of an [O phrase], the connector /i/ would have been suffixed in the [V phrase] nucleus.

Sentences (25) to (31) show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. In sentence (32), the subject is embedded in the [V phrase], and the profile is [SE - V phrase] [O phrase]. In sentence (33), the last phrase is Agentive rather than Object, and the profile is [S phrase] [V phrase] [Ag. phrase], as is formally indicated by suffix /-na/ in the [Ag. phrase]— without this suffix, the profile would be [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase], and mean Amat bit the dog.

(25) The child is drinking lemonade.

ananaʔ	ero	minuŋi	limonade
[child	that]	[verb-drink-connector]	[lemonade]
M	M	m-M-m	M

(26) The dog carried meat in his mouth.

asu	ero	mattoaʔi	juku
[dog	that]	[verb-bite-connector]	[meat]
M	M	m-M-m	M

(27) The dog is chasing a deer.

asu	ero	ləluŋŋi	joŋa

[dog	that]	[chase-connector]	[deer]
M	M	M-m	M

(28) The root of the tree is extracted for medicine.

urəʔ	aju	wero	riʔbuaʔi	paʔbura
[root	tree	that] -	-[past-make-connector]	[(noun--cure)]
M	M	M	m-M-m	m-M

(29) Black cloth is not good for garments.

kaim	malotoŋŋe	majaʔi	riala	waju
[cloth	black-the]	[verb-bad-connector	past-make]	[garment]
M	m- M - m	m - M - m	m-M	M

(30) Fertile land is good for growing rice.

tana	macommoʔe	makanjaʔ	*rionroi*
[earth	fertile - the]	[verb-good	past-place-connector]
M	m-M-m	m-M	m-M-m

maʔgaloŋ

[rice-field]

m-M

(31) The plane soared,piercing the clouds.

kappalaʔ	luttu	ero	minriʔi	marrə ləʔ
[boat	fly	that]	[verb-soar-connector	verb-pierce]
M -	M	M	m-M-m	m-M

abluŋ

[cloud]

M

(32) I bought fruit and sweetmeats.

mallikaʔ	buabua	sipawa	anreʔanre
[verb-buy-I]	[fruit	with	food-food]
m-M-m	M	m	M-M

(33) Amat was bitten by his dog.

amaʔ	natoaʔi	asunna
[Amat]	[past-bite-connector]	[dog-his]
M	m-M-m	M-m

The next several sentences following include Possessive phrases. Sentences (34) to (39) show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [Poss. phrase] . But the profile for sentence (39) is [V phrase] [Poss. phrase] [S phrase], and this profile with [L phrase] appears in (40), and the profile of (41) is [Poss. embedded O phrase] [V phrase] .

(34) Sea water is salty.

uwae		tasiʔe	mapəʔje	rasana
[water		sea-the]	[verb-salty]	[taste-its]
M	-	M-m	m-M	M-m

(35) That pond is full of fish.

səʔbo	wero	maega	balena
[pond	that]	[verb-many]	[fish-its]
M	M	m-M	M-m

(36) The tail of the water buffalo is short.

tedoŋŋe	maponcoʔ	ikkoʔna
[water buffalo-the]	[verb-short]	[tail-its]

M-m	m-M	M-m

(37) The hair of that woman is long.

makunrei	yero	malampe	weluwaʔna
[woman	that]	[verb long]	[hair-her]
M	M	m-M	M-m

(38) The bark (of a tree) is very useful.

oli?aju	ero	təmmaka	makki	gunana
[skin-tree	that]	[very	verb-make]	[use its]
M-M	M	m	m-M	M-m

(39) The flower of the jack-fruit is yellow.

maridi	buŋanna	panassae
[verb-yellow]	[flower-its]	[jack-fruit-the]
m-M	M-m	M-m

(40) Fire is very useful to man.

apie	maega	gunana	ritauwe
[fire-the]	[verb-much]	[use-its]	[loc - man - the]
M-m	m-M	M-m	m-M-m

(41) The sand on the bank of the river is crumbling.

kəssiʔe	riwirinna	saloʔe	maruttuŋŋi
[sand-the	location-edge-its	river-the]	[verb-crumble-connector]
M-m	m-M-m	M-m	m-M-m

Sentence (41) shows the profile [S... Poss] [V] . The [Possessive phrase] is embedded in the first, or [S phrase] . A closer literal translation may be

The sand on the river's edge is crumbling, or even It crumbles the sand on the river's edge.

The next several sentences following include Location of time (or positional Location) and/or Location in time phrases. Sentences (42) to (48) show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] — and the last sentence in this set, (48), shows a Cham-like phrase interior in [S phrase] — numeral quantifier - classifier- phrase nucleus. Sentences (49) to (52) show profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase]. In sentence (53) the [V phrase] [S phrase] is flanked by two Location phrases, [L phrase] of time preceding and [L phrase] of place following. In (54) [L phrase] of time precedes a subject embedded [V phrase] . The profiles of sentences (55) to (59) are given after the sentences.

(42) The bird is hopping in the tree.

manu?manu?	ero	maccekkeŋŋi	riajuwe
[bird	that]	[verb-hop-connector]	[loc. -tree-the]
M-M	M	m-M-m	m-M-m

(43) He put his hand on his head.

limanna	nataroi	riulunna
[hand-his]	[past-put-connector]	[loc. -head-his]
M-m	m-M-m	m-M-m

(44) The new car crashed into a bridge.

oto	baru	ero	tattumpu?	rijambattaŋŋe
[car	new	that]	[past-crash]	[location-bridge-the]
M	M	M	m-M	m-M-m

The minor morpheme introducing the second or [V phrase] , /ta/, is a non-purposive or unintentional, past time marker.

(45) The child is standing in front of the door.

ananaʔ	ero	təttuŋŋi	riolona	taŋəʔe
[child	that]	[stand-connector]	[location-front	door-the]
M	M	M-m	m-M	M-m

(46) The duck is swimming in the pond.

itiʔ	ero	naŋe	risəʔbowe
[duck	that]	[swim]	[location-pond-the]
M	M	M	m-M-m

(47) The teacher sits on the chair.

guru	we	tudaŋŋi	rikaderae
[teacher-the]		[sit-connector]	[location-chair-the]
M-m		M-m	m-M-m

(48) He bought two goats at the market.

dua	kaju	bembeʔ	riʔəlli	ripasaʔe
[two	classifier	goat]	[past-buy]	[location-market-the]
M	m	M	m-M	m-M-m

(49) The birds were flying out of their nests.

makkaluttur ənni	manuʔmanuʔe	pale	riserə nna
[verb-plural-fly-connector]	[bird-bird-the]	[from	location-nest-their]
m-M-m	M-M-m	m	m-M-m

(50) The stars are bright at night.

macəkka	wetoweŋŋe	riwanniye
[verb-bright]	[star-the]	[location-night-the]
m-M	M-m	m-M-m

(51) The sun rises in the east.

mompoʔi	mataʔəssowe	ritimorᵊŋ
[verb-rise-connector]	[eye-day-the]	[loc-east]
m-M-m	M-M-m	m-M

(52) His head bumped against the door.

talləpoi	ulunna	ritaŋəʔe
[past-knock-connector]	[head-his]	[location-door-the]
m-M-m	M-m	m-M-m

(53) Saturday afternoons the shops are crowded.

narekko	wənniʔ	ahaʔi	marowaʔi
[when	night	Sunday-emphatic]	[verb-noise-connector]
M	M	M-m	m-M-m
tauwe	ritokoe		
[man-the]	[locative-shop-the]		
M-m	m-M-m		

(54) I want to go back now.

makokkowae	maeloʔ	manrewəʔ
[now]	[I-want	verb-return]
M	m-M	m-M

(55) Amina had a stomach-ache yesterday.

amina	mapəʔdi	wəttaŋ	iwənni
[Amina]	[verb-sick]	[stomach]	[yesterday]
M	m-M	M	M

Profile: [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase] .

(56) The dust on the road causes disease.

awue	rilaləŋŋe	pappole	lasa
[dust-the]	[loc. -road-the]	[cause-come]	[disease]
M-m	m-M-m	m-M	M

Profile: [S phrase] [L phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(57) Yesterday I ate banana fritters.

iwə nni?	puraka?	manre	saŋgaraŋ
[yesterday]	[already-I	verb-eat]	[banana-fritter]
M	m-m	m-M	M-M

Profile: [L phrase] [SE- V phrase] [O phrase].

(58) Let's walk to school.

jokkai	lao	risikolae
[walk-connective	go]	[location-school-the]
M-m	$\frac{m}{M}$	m-M-m.

Profile: [V phrase] [L phrase].

(59) Father bought something at the market.

aga	naʔəlli?	ambo?	ripasaʔe
[something]	[past-buy]	[father]	[loc. -market-the]
M	m-M	M	m-M-m

Profile: [O phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase].

The next several sentences following — (60) to (71) — include Negative phrase: profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] in (60), (61), (62), (63); and the same, followed by [O phrase] in (64) and (65); and so on — (66) to (71).

(60) My sarong is not dry yet.

lipa?ku	depana	marakko
[sarong]	[not yet]	[verb-dry]
M-m	M m	m-M

(61) The seed cannot be sown.

bine	wero	de?	na	wə?dir	ritanəŋ
[seed	that]	[not]	[past	- able	past-plant]
M	M	M	m-M		m-M

(62) My brother has not slept yet.

adi?ku	depana	matinro
[brother-my]	[not yet]	[verb-sleep]
M-m	M-m	m-M

(63) The young chicken does not have feathers.

ana?	manu?	ero	de	na?bulu
[child	chicken	that]	[not]	[past-feather]
M	M	M	M	m-M

(64) My chicken has not lain eggs yet.

manu?ku	depa	nakki	tello

[chicken-my]	[not yet]	[past-make]	[egg]
M-m	M-m	m-M	M

(65) We have never been on a boat.

idiʔ	depa	nəŋka	natomma	kapallaʔ
[we]	[not-yet]	[exist	past-ride]	[boat]
M	M-m	m-M	m-M	M

(66) His laziness is useless.

sipaʔ	kutuwe	degaga	gunana
[character	lazy-his]	[not anything]	[use-its]
M	M-m	M-m-m	M-m

(67) The rain keeps pouring.

bosiye	degaga	pajana
[rain-the]	[not-anything]	[stop-its]
M-m	M-m-m	M-m

(68) I don't know what caused the incident.

deʔ	uwissəŋi	pasallənna	gaoʔ	ero.
[not]	[I-know-connector]	[source-its	affair	that]
M	m-M-m	M-m	M	M

(69) I could not sleep yesterday.

de	wullei	matinroe	iwənniʔ
[not]	[I-can	verb-sleep-the]	[yesterday]
M	m-M	m-M-m	M

(70) The water is not boiling yet.

deʔpa	namapəlla	uwae	ero
[not yet]	[verb-hot]	[water	that]
M-m	m-M	M	M

(71) I don't like chicken.

iyyaʔ	deʔ	upojiwi	manrewe	manuʔ
[I]	[not]	[I-like-connector	verb-eat-the]	[chicken]
M	M	m-M-m	m-M-m	M

The next several sentences following — (72) to (88) — include Interrogative phrase, with occasional comment, as after sentence (77) and (81). The profile — [Interrog. phrase] [SE-V phrase] — bears a considerable functional load, and is exemplified by sentences (84) to (87). The profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [Interrog. phrase] as in (88) bears a functionally light load in contrast.

(72) Who was the teacher who taught you for the first time?

niga	asənna	gurummu	wəttunna	mulamulako	massikola
[who-question]	[name-his	teacher-your]	[time-the	first-you]	[verb-school]
M-m	M-m	M-m	M-m	M-M-m	m-M

(73) Who wants to go to school?

niga	maeloʔ	lao	risikolae
[who-question]	[verb-want	go]	[loc.-school-the]

M-m m-M M m-M-m

(74) What else do you want to do?

aga si maeloʔ mupaʔgauŋ

[what-question else] [verb-want] [you-do]

M-m m m-M m-M

(75) Where did you stay the night in Malang?

kego maʔbənni okko malaŋ

[where-question] [verb-night] [in Malang]

M-m m-M m M

(76) In what village were you born?

kega kampoŋ monroi jaji

[where-question] [village] [verb-place-connector become]

M-m M m-M-m

(77) Are things expensive in the market?

masoliga agagae ripasaʔe

[expensive-question] [thing-the] [loc.-market-the]

M-m M-m m-M-m

The suffixing of a question marker to V phrase nucleus to form question appears also in Bahasa Indonesia, but not in Javanese.

(78) Why don't you go home yet?

magəpi na de mupole

[why-question-again] [not yet] [you-go home]

M-m-m mM m-M

(79) Why don't you drink?

magina	de	muwinuŋ
[why-question emphatic]	[not]	[you-drink]
M-m-m	M	m-M

(80) Why is your tooth aching?

magina	mapə?di	isimmu
[why]	[verb-sick]	[tooth-your]
M	m-M	M-m

(81) What are you eating?

aga	manre
[what-question]	[verb-eat]
M-m	m-M

In Bahasa Indonesia, , all interrogatives obligatorily take the suffix /ga ~ gə~ gi/ question marker. In addition, sentences that are statements may be changed to questions by affixing /ga/ to Negative, or to V phrase nucleus.

(82) Where did you start to attend school?

kego	buŋə?	monro	massikola
[where-question]	[start	verb-place	verb-school]
M	M	m-M	m-M

(83) Where do you want to go?

kego	maelo	lao
[where-question]	[verb-want	go]
M-m	m-M	M

(84) What is your name?

niga	asəmmu
[who-question]	[name-your]
M-m	M-m

(85) When were you born?

maganna	mujaji
[when-question-emphatic]	[you-become]
M-m-m	m-M

(86) What are you eating?

aga	muanre
[what-question]	[you-eat]
M-m	m-M

(87) Are not you cold?

dega	mumacəkke?
[not-question]	[you-cold]
M-m	m-m-M

(88) Whom did he send to school?

iyya	napassikolai	niga
[he]	[past-cause-school-connector]	[who-question]
M	m-m-M-m	M-m

The remaining sentences pose special problems, as [V phrase] [Object phrase] — but without [S phrase] — for imperative sentences (89) and (90) and so on.

(89) Look at that pretty child!

ita	ero	anana?	makəssiŋŋe
[see	that]	[child	verb-pretty-the]
M	M	M	m-M-m

(90) Listen to the music!

eŋkaliŋai	oniyoni	ero
[listen-connector]	[sound-sound	that]
M-m	M-M	M

(91) Death is a common affair for human beings.

amatteaŋŋe	anu	biasa	rirupatauwe
[nom.-die-nom.-the]	[matter	common]	[locative man-the]
m-M-m-m	M	M	m-M-m

(92) If I finish dressing I will go off.

narekko	purana	mapake	jokkana
[if	already-its]	[dress]	[walk-its]
M	M-m	m-M	M-m

(93) That pencil is longer than the pen.

potolo?	ero	lə?bi	lampena	na	polopeŋe
[pencil	that]	[more	long-its]	[than]	[pen-the]
M	M	M	M-m	m	M-m

(94) How much is that meat?

siaga	eganna	əllinna	juku?	ero
[how-question]	[much-its	cost-its]	[meat	that]
M-m	M-m	M-m	M	M

(95) Kill the snake wherever you meet.

wunui	ero	ulaʔe	kegokego	siruntuʔ
[kill-emphatic	that]	[snake-the]	[where-where]	[reciprocal meet]
M-m	M	M-m	M-M	m-M

(96) Indonesia is my native country.

indonesia	onroaŋ	accolloʔ	daraku
[Indonesia]	[place	to-shed	blood-my]
M	M	m-M	M-m

(97) 'Get your father a big knife', mother said.

aleŋŋe	amboʔmu	baŋ kuŋ	adanna	indoʔ
[get]	[father-your]	[big knife]	[say-her]	[mother]
M	M-m	M	M-m	M

(98) His tongue, bitten by the ant, hurts.

mapəʔdi	lilana	nattoaʔ	berebere
[sick]	[tongue-his]	[past-bite]	[ant]
m-M	M-m	m-M	M

(99) The house has been sold.

bola	ero	purani	ibalu
[house	that]	[already-emph.]	[past-sell]
M	M	M-m	m-M

(100) His name is too long to memorize.

asənna	təmmaka	watanna	riapalaʔ
[name-his]	[very	long-the]	[past-memorize]
M-m	M	M-m	m-M

(101) I felt the night was very cold.

wənnie	təmmaka	cəkkeʔna	usəʔdiŋ
[night-the]	[very	cold-it]	[I-feel]
M-m	M	M-m	m-M

(102) Because of the smoke the sight is blurred.

nasabaʔ	rumpu	api	pakkitae	deʔ	namanəssa
[because	smoke	fire]	[nom. -see-the]	[not]	[clear]
M	M	M	m-M-m	M	m-M

(103) The water of the deep sea is blue.

tasiʔ	malamuŋ	ero	makudara	uwaena	rita
[sea	verb-deep	that]	[verb-blue]	[water-its	past-see]
M	m-M	M	m-M	M-m	m-M

(104) I stayed at my friend's in Malang.

monrokaʔ	rimalaŋ	ribolana	sabaʔku
[stay-I]	[loc.- Malang]	[loc. house-his	friend-my]
M-m	m-M	m-M-m	M-m

BAHASA INDONESIA

4.8. The transcription of our sentences in Bahasa Indonesia, as spoken by Samsuri, whose mother tongue is Javanese, exemplify an almost symmetrical vowel type:

i u

e ə o

ɛ a ɔ

and the following linear distinctions among consonants—oral stops /p t c k/, and pharyngeal (glottal) /ʔ/; these are matched by voiced oral stops, /b d j g/, and by nasals, /m n ñ ŋ/, besides two fricatives, /s h/, and four oral sonorants, /l r w y/.

For our understanding of the history of Bahasa Indonesia, which begins with Malay—indeed, which has already been characterized as a tampered-with dialect of Malay—we are indebted chiefly to our distinguished consultants, and also to the blue book numbered Bibliographic Series 5, by A. Teeuw and H. W. Emanuels, A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia ('S-Gravenhage, 1961).

Printed literature in Bahasa Indonesia has been produced now for about a quarter of a century, but has already exceeded the scope of Bibliographic Series 5, cited above. It includes periodical articles published in national Indonesia and national Malaysia (*Dewan Bahasa*, *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* and others), newspapers, and countless books. Publications in Malay have been produced for a much longer period, of course; a publisher's cut-off point between Malay publications and Bahasa Indonesia publications has been somewhat arbitrarily set as 1942.

The importance of pre-Bahasa Indonesia Malay was that it often served as a lingua franca. For example, it was used as such in Portuguese Timor. However, Malay was not, as is sometimes supposed, spoken as a lingua franca by South Africans; it was borrowings from Malay that entered into the lexicon of Africans in South Africa, as indeed such Malay borrowings entered into the lexicons of Dutch (Eurasian Dutch), as well as English and other European languages. But the central lexical impact of Malay was on non-Malay languages spoken in national and areal Indonesia, as identified above (4.1). Where the population became bilingual both in Malay (the lingua franca) and in an Austronesian mother tongue, there was always the possibility that this bilingualism might be of the replacive kind, and that in consequence the mother tongue might become extinct. It is in this context that the authors of Bibliographic Series 5, cited above, discuss the situation as it developed in the Malay Peninsula (p.44):

"Something must be said at this point about the relationship of Malay to the non-Malay languages and dialects of the peninsula, although discussion of the Semang, Sakai, Jakun and other languages of the aborigines lies outside the scope of the present bibliography. It should, however, be noted that Malay is penetrating, superseding and eliminating all these languages and dialects. One can see the effects of this Malay expansion in numerous word-lists and other descriptions of these languages: part of the material is always Malay, sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the age and circumstances of the informants, while the ability and method of the research worker also play an important role in the results of the research! It is for these reasons necessary to touch on these languages which are becoming more and more Malay in a bibliography of Malay, even if it is not our intention to mention all the literature. The standard work is still Blagden's study in the book by Skeat and Blagden (1906), for he uses and mentions all the older sources. He also gives all sorts of data on the influence of Malay and on various complications in the examination of the process of Malayisation..."

As already mentioned, 1942 is often cited as the year of decision, the year when the function of Malay was replaced by R. I. (the Republic of Indonesia) in the new shape (or tampered-with dialect) of B. I. (Bahasa Indonesia), as the authors of Bibliographic Series 5 say (p. 64):

"The Japanese occupation of Indonesia in 1942 soon led to the elimination of Dutch, and this strongly stimulated Malay. No publications on the official language question during those years are known to me. It is, however, known that the Japanese authorities initially promoted the creation of terminologies, appointing a committee for this purpose, but later obstructed the committee's activities (see below, in the section on Istilah). On 29 April 1945, however, the Japanese occupation government recognised B.I. as the bahasa resmi. After the Japanese capitulation, the constitution of the R.I. incorporated the following provision: 'Bahasa Negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia' (The State language is B.I.) and on 6 November 1945 the Dutch Lieutenant Governor-General proclaimed B.I. to be the second official language beside Dutch. The provisional constitutions of the R.I.S. of 29 December 1949 and of the R.I. of 15 August 1950 contain the following formulation: 'Bahasa resmi Negara Republik Indonesia ialah Bahasa Indonesia'. (The official language of the R.I. is B.I.)."

The reference, above, to Istilah is then clarified (p. 70):

"The creation of Istilah, a body of technical, scientific and professional terms, has been one of the central problems in the development of B. I. into a really mature, modern language of culture. It is a problem of which people have quickly and repeatedly become aware; on the one hand because, with the proclamation of B.I. as the national language, the need for specialized and technical vocabularies in every field became a reality, and on the other hand because precisely in this field the possibility of artificial invention and conscious extension, as well as the need for such activities, seems greatest. Before the second world war, attention had been paid to technical terms, but on a limited scale, both in quality and quantity. On the other hand, terms restricted to special fields had been collected much earlier, ranging from lists of military orders and nautical terms to medical and technical dictionaries... In addition a lot of new terms were coined and used already before the war, in dozens of Malay textbooks on all sorts of subjects, as well as in numerous technical and practical pamphlets (mainly by Balai Pustaka). Any attempt to enumerate them here is out of the question.

"After the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, this demand assumed a different nature, at a different level. This was soon realized and as early as 1942 the Japanese authorities in Sumatra and in Java appointed two Komisi Bahasa Indonesia. Of one such committee in Medan, no results have come to my notice other than a pamphlet called Istilah Bahasa Indonesia (± 1944). One section of the committee in Java, which was initially directed by Mohammad Hatta, was charged with the creation of technical terms. Their work did not go smoothly, owing to Japanese obstructions and the prevailing circumstances, but it nevertheless resulted in the production of a Kamoes Istilah (two volumes: Asing-Indonesia and Indonesia-Asing), which, for want of a better, became a book of reference for many in the years between 1946 and 1949 (Kamoes Istilah 1945-47)..."

Indonesia is now faced with a new (and old) language situation: an emerging nation realizes that many languages are spoken as a mother tongue by its citizens—not a few, or a dozen, or a score, but a hundred or so separate languages—of which one, Javanese, far outnumbers all the rest in native speakers. It concludes, as a decision of policy, that it would be impolitic to foster the language of the majority, Javanese, or the non-Javanese speakers in the nation. Instead, it proclaims Bahasa Indonesia, a tampered-with dialect of Malay (which, in turn, was the most widespread lingua franca in pre-national eras) to be the national language. But lexical borrowing from Javanese is so overwhelming in Bahasa Indonesia, that it has been predicated that, within half a century from now, Bahasa Indonesia will develop into a dialect of Javanese rather than remain a dialect of Malay, which it now is.

This is a prediction more apt to be made by students of Javanese than by the Javanese themselves. The latter make quite another kind of prediction, stemming from the fact that Bahasa Indonesia has diffused much more rapidly among the few native languages spoken in Java than it has among the more numerous native languages spoken in Sumatra, and in Borneo and in the Celebes, and in the more remote parts of the nation, as the Moluccas and the lesser Sundas. This fact is granted, and explained as a consequence of ample mass communication in Java and the relative lack of mass communication in the rest of the nation. The prediction made by the Javanese themselves is that since mass communication—speeches in Bahasa

Indonesia transmitted by local radio stations, newspapers written in Bahasa Indonesia, school books in Bahasa Indonesia made available to all school children—will slowly but surely spill over from the densely populated island of Java to the less densely populated islands of the rest of the nation on which there is greater linguistic diversity than on Java, hence there is greater need for a lingua franca like Bahasa Indonesia. This predication (that as mass communication diffuses over the nation so also Bahasa Indonesia will diffuse) is often coupled with a hope—the hope that the nation will become a nation of bilinguals: with different speakers speaking their own native language plus Bahasa Indonesia, and that the latter will, after a period of bilingualism, replace the native language. Both the hope and the prediction may well turn out as prophecized by the Javanese, since the prophecy is self-fulfilling prophecy. Those who make the prophecy also administer the means of mass communication that is to bear Bahasa Indonesia to the hinterland of the nation where it is not often understood, and where it is today regarded as another foreign language. The language learning difficulty still remembered by those Javanese speakers who themselves learned Bahasa Indonesia as a second language was, however, a more agreeable, and (in some cases) exhilarating experience than will be experienced by speakers of other languages in the rest of the nation. They will be confronted by a fait accompli lingua franca—and [illegible] will be the apparently simple task to learn Bahasa Indonesia as it has developed so far, rather than to help develop Bahasa Indonesia beside learning it, as was done in Java.

The following sample of sentences represents current usage of Bahasa Indonesia in the mouth of a Javanese speaker—possibly a harbinger of future developments.

Sentences (1) to (15) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase]. This may be reordered non-contrastively to [V phrase] [S phrase].

The phrase interiors show that each phrase includes at least one major morpheme (M), the phrase nucleus. If, now, [V phrase] interiors are examined, it will be seen that some also include minor morpheme(m's)—either particle or affix—which in a 'part of speech' analysis of Bahasa Indonesia serve to identify the verb class; other minor morphemes, as the prefix /pə-/ in (7), serve to transform the verb class to a noun class. The profile for sentences (1) to (13) might be labelled either [S phrase] [V phrase] (when a minor morpheme is included in the second phrase to indicate that the form class of the major morpheme is 'verb'), or else labelled [Topic phrase] [Comment phrase] (when a minor morpheme is not included in the second phrase, or if included, serves to identify the phrase nucleus 'word' as 'noun'). Such a 'part of speech' analysis contributes knowledge to the formation and construction of 'words' in Bahasa Indonesia, but nothing to the function of sentence profiles. Hence, the [V phrase] in the profile exemplified below, is so labelled whether or not its phrase interior includes a 'verb' or a 'noun' or 'adjective'.

(1) The poor woman keeps on crying.

pərəmpuan	yaŋ	malaŋ	itu	mənaŋis	saja
[woman	particularizer	unfortunate	that]	[verb-cry	merely]
(M	m)	M	M	m - M	M

The parentheses in the [S phrase] point to a modified-modifier order in which a minor morpheme is the modifier; the string of major morphemes following are then modifiers of the parentheses as a whole.

(2) The six men died.

kəˀənam	ɔraŋ	itu	məniŋgal
[cardinal-six	(man	that)]	[verb-die]
m -M	M	M	m-M

The [S phrase] shows that cardinal quantifier precedes modified—in this case the parentheses which show the usual modified-modifier order.

(3) The child is sleeping.

anaʔ	itu	sədaŋ	tidur
[child	that]	[ing	sleep]
M	M	m	M

(4) The child is reading.

anaʔ	itu	məmbaca
[child	that]	[verb-read]
M	M	m-M

(5) The new dance is very interesting.

tariyan	yaŋ	baru	itu	saŋat	mənariʔ
[(dance	particularizer)	new	that]	[very	verb-interest]
M-m	m	M	M	M	m-M

The interior of the [S phrase] is parallel in structure to that of sentence (1).

(6) These alleys are too narrow.

lɔrɔŋlɔrɔŋ	ini	tərlalu	səmpit
[(alley-alley)	this]	[too	narrow]
M - M	M	M	M

Here the reduplication in the [S phrase] marks plural.

(7) The blind man is a beggar.

ɔraŋ	buta	itu	pəminta	minta
[man	blind	that]	[noun-beg-beg]	
M	M	M	m-M-M	

Here the reduplication in [V phrase] marks habituative; it does not mark plural.

(8) All his books have been sold.

səmua	bukuña	təlah	habis	tərjual
[all	book-3rd person]	[already	finish	sell]
M	M-m	m	M	m-M

In the modifier-modified order of the [S phrase], it is a quantifier that precedes the modified. In the first or [S phrase], the minor morpheme /ña/ glossed 3rd person may be glossed alternatively as his, her, its. Other possible free translations, accordingly, are All her books have been sold, and, All its books have been sold.

(9) The roof of this house has many leaks.

atap	rumah	ini	bocɔr	səmua
[roof	house	this]	[leak	all]
M	M	M	M	M

(10) That married couple get along very well together.

kədua	suami	istri	itu	rukun	bənar
[both	(husband	wife)	that]	[compatible	very]
M	M	M	M	M	M

The parenthesis points to a compound which is the modified part of the [S phrase] order: modifier-modified-modifier. As a quantifier, the modifier glossed both precedes the modified.

(11) That pediatrician is a very kind one.

doktər	anaʔanaʔ	itu	saŋat	pəramah
[doctor	child-child	that]	[very	noun-kind]
M	M-M	M	M	m-M

(12) This bad situation is inherited from the Dutch.

kəadaan	buruk	ini	warisan	jaman	blanda
[situation	bad	this]	[inheritance	era	Dutch]
m-M-m	M	M	M-m	M	M

In each phrase, the order is modified-modifier-modifier.

(13) The Banda Sea is full of coral.

laut	banda	itu	pənuh	dəŋan	karaŋ
[sea	Banda	that]	[full	with	coral]
M	M	M	M	m	M

The minor morpheme (m) in the [V phrase] is flanked by two major morphemes (M's) in the following order: modified (M)-m-modifier(M).

(14) He is clearly a stubborn boy.

pəmuda	itu	jəlas	anaʔ	yaŋ	bandəl
[youth	that]	[largely	(child	particularizer)	stubborn]
M	M	M	M	m	M

The parenthesis, with modified-modifier order within it, is the modified unit in the following [V phrase] order: modifier-modified-modifier. The quantifier glossed largely precedes the modified.

(15) This problem must be solved.

pərsɔʔalan	ini	harus	disələsɛykan
[noun-problem	this]	[must	past-solve-past]
m-M-m	M	M	m-M-m

The major morpheme glossed must occurs in other sentences as the only morpheme of [V phrase].

Sentences (16) to (28) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase]. This may be reordered non-contrastively to a [V phrase] [O phrase] [S phrase] profile.

(16) World wars bring much calamity.

pəraŋ		dunia	baña?	məmbawa	malapətaka
[war		world]	[much	verb-bring]	[calamity]
M	-	M	M	m-M	M

In the [V phrase] the quantifier glossed much appears first in the order modifier-modified.

(17) Father is mending the roof of the house.

ayah	sədaŋ	məmpərbaiki	atap	rumah
[father]	[ing	verb-(cause-good-cause)]	[roof	house]
M	m	m- -m -M -m	M	M

In the second ~~or~~ [V phrase], the phrase interior consists of one major morpheme /baik/ good, and three minor morphemes. M is flanked by a discontinuous minor morpheme /pər...i/ glossed as causative, and this unit—in parentheses—is preceded by the verb formative /mə/. /sedaŋ/, glossed as ing, marks action in progress.

(18) Uncle likes to raise horses.

paman	suka	məməlihara	kuda
[uncle]	[like	verb-raise]	[horse]
M	M	m-M	M

Dual major morphemes in [V phrase] may be reordered as a pair; and each major morpheme may appear as the only major morpheme in the sentences Uncle likes horses and Uncle raises horses.

(19) His cousin seldom goes to the movies.

kəmanakan ña	jaraŋ	pərgi	mənonton	gambar hidup
[cousin-3rd person]	[seldom	(go	verb-see)]	[picture like]
M-m	M	M	m-M	M M

The dual major morphemes in parentheses of the [V phrase] are modified; the modifier which precedes is a quantifier glossed seldom. The [0 phrase] shows the usual order: modified-modifier.

(20) Mothers always complain about their children.

kaum	ibu	səlalu	məŋəluh	təntaŋ	anaʔña
[group	mother]	[always	verb-complain]	[about	child-their]
M	M	M	m - M	m	M - m

Though major morphemes, quantifiers are modifiers that precede rather than follow the modified, as in the order modifier (group)-modified in the [S phrase], and modifier (always)-modified in the [V phrase]. The minor morpheme glossed about precedes M in [0 phrase].

(21) I will play soccer.

aku	akan	bərmain	sɛpaʔbola
[I]	[will	play]	[kick-ball]
M	m	m-M	M-M

The minor morpheme glossed will precedes the phrase nucleus (m-M) in [V phrase].

(22) The man is drinking wine.

oraŋ	itu	minum	aŋgur
[man	that]	[verb-drink]	[wine]
M	M	m - M	M

(23) The club is banned by the government.

pərkumpulan	itu	dilaraŋ	pəmərintah
[noun-gather-noun	that]	[past-prohibit]	[noun-govern]
m-M-m	M	m-M	m-M

In the first or [N phrase], a discontinuous morpheme /pər...an/ glossed noun, flanks the phrase nucleus. In the final or [O phrase], /pə/ noun —and not /pər..an/—precedes the nucleus. Different word classes take different noun markers; this is a phrase-interior problem.

(24) Soccer was popular among the natives.

sɛpaʔ bɔla	itu	saŋat	digəmari	pənduduʔ
[(kick-ball)	that]	[very	past-like-connector]	[folk]
M-M	M	M	m-M-m	M

The parentheses enclose members of a compound which is modified before modifier in [S phrase].

(25) Amat has just bought a book.

amat	baru	məmbəli	buku
[Amat]	[recently	verb-buy]	[book]
M	M	m-M	M

In the [V phrase], the quantifier of time, glossed recently, precedes the modified.

(26) The child drank up three cupfuls.

anaʔ	itu	minum	habis	tiga	caŋkir
[child	that]	[verb-drink]	[all of	three	cup]
M	M	m - M	M	M	M

In the [O phrase] two quantifiers precede the phrase nucleus in the following order: modifier-modifier-modified.

(27) The old man ate cold rice.

ɔraŋ	tua	itu	makan	nasi	diŋin
[man	old	that]	[verb-eat]	[rice	cold]
M	M	M	m - M	M	M

(28) His hobby is reading books.

kəgəmaranña	məmbaca	buku
[noun-like-noun-3rd person]	[verb-read]	[book]
m-M-m-m	m-M	M

In the following sentences, (29) begins and (30) ends with [V phrase] which includes embedded subject—that is, suffixed subject marker.

(29) He put the heavy load on his shoulder.

ditaruhña	bəban	yaŋ	bərat	itu	dipundaʔña
[past-put-he]$_a$	[load	which	heavy	that]$_b$	[on-shoulder-his]$_c$
m-M-m	M	m	M	M	m-M-m

The profile [embedded subject V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase] is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(30) He divorced his wife a long time ago.

istriña	təlah	lama	dicərɛykanña
[wife-his]$_a$	[already	long]$_b$	[past-divorce-he]$_c$
M-m	m	M	m-M-m-m

The profile [O phrase] [L phrase] [embedded subject V phrase] is reorderable from a b c to b a c.

The following sentences, (31) to (33), show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [Ag. phrase]. The final Agentive phrase begins with a phrase introducer which is glossed by.

(31) *The smoke was seen by the writer.*

asap	itu	tərlihat	ɔlɛh	pənulis	itu
[smoke	that]	[past-see]	[by	writer	that]
M	M	m-M	m	m-M	M

(32) *The man felt the breath of the tiger.*

napas	harimɔw	itu	dirasakan	ɔlɛh	ɔraŋ	itu
[breath	tiger	that]	[past-feel]	[by	man	that]
M	M	M	m-M-m	m	M	M

(33) *Indonesian peasants feel for the first time the usefulness of the weather bureau.*

kantɔr	cuaca	baru	dirasakan	pərluña	ɔlɛh	pətani
[office	weather]	[firstly	(felt	use-its)]	[by	peasant
M	M	M	m-M-m	M-m	m	M-

pətani	indonesia
peasant	Indonesia]
M	M

The following sentences (34) to (48) show profile [S phrase]$_a$ [V phrase]$_b$ [L phrase]$_c$. When the Location phrase specifies positional location, it begins with a phrase introducer—often a prefix (minor morphemes glossed *in* or *on* or *into* or *up to*); when it specifies Location of time, the time is marked by a major morpheme without prior phrase introducer. For both kinds of Location, the order of phrases may be reordered from a b c to b c a profile; in both profiles [V phrase] precedes [L phrase]—for sentences (39) to (40). But for those from (41) to (48), additional reorderings are possible, including [L phrase] before [V phrase].

(34) The head of the robber came last.

kəpala	pərampok	itu	dataŋ	kəmudian
[head	robber	that]	[come]	[last]
M	M	M	M	M

(35) Salim's wife lives in the village.

istri	salim	tiŋgal	didɛsa
[wife	Salim]	[stay]	[in-village]
M	M	M	m-M

(36) Salim and his wife live in the village.

salim	dan	istriña	tiŋgal	didɛsa
[Salim	and	wife-his]	[stay]	[in-village]
M	m	M-m	M	m-M

(37) Salim's family live in the village.

salim	anaʔbəranaʔ	tiŋgal	didɛsa
[Salim	(child-have-child)]	[stay]	[in-village]
M	M- m -M	M	m-M

In the [S phrase], the parenthesis as a whole appears as modifier in the order: modified-modifier (in the sense of Salim and his family...)

(38) This book is published in Bandung.

buku	ini	ditərbitkan	dibanduŋ
[book	this]	[publish]	[in Bandung]
M	M	m-M-m	m M

(39) The truth of this is apparent everywhere.

kəñataʔan	ini	tərliat	dimana mana
[reality	this]	[seen]	[in-where-where]
m-M-m	M	m-M	m-M-M

(40) The writer of this novel died yesterday.

pəŋaraŋ	rɔman	ini	məniŋgal	kəmarin
[writer	novel	this]	[verb-die]	[yesterday]
m-M	M	M	m-M	M

(41) The fruit is spread out on the ground.

buahbuaan	bərsɛraʔan	ditanah
[fruit-fruit]$_{a}$	[spread out]$_{b}$	[on-earth]$_{c}$
M-M-m	m-M-m	m-M

Additional reorderings are from the a b c order to:

b a c

b c a

c b a

(42) They must go into the markets.

mərɛka	harus	masuʔ	kədalam	pasarpasar
[they]$_{a}$	[must	enter]$_{b}$	[into	market-market]$_{c}$
M	M	M	m-M	M- M

Additional reorderings are from the a b c order to:

b c a
b a c
c a b

(43) This kind of food is difficult to get here.

makanan	səmacam	ini	susah	didapat	disini
[food	sort	this]$_{a}$	[difficult	past-get]$_{b}$	[here]$_{c}$
M-m	m-M	M	M	m-M	M

Additional reorderings are from the a b c order to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

c a b

(44) They will fight to the last man.

mərɛka	akan	bərjuaŋ	sampɛy	habis
[they]$_a$	[will	fight]$_b$	[up to	finish]$_c$
M	M	m-M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M

Additional reorderings are from the a b c order to:

b a c

b c a

c a b

The phrase introducer functions in the [L phrase] as minor morpheme $(\frac{m}{M})$; in other sentences it appears as phrase nucleus $(\frac{M}{m})$ when it is glossed arrive.

(45) My neighbor is having a party tonight.

tətaŋgaku	sədaŋ	bərpɛsta	malam	ini
[neighbor-my]$_a$	[ing	have-party]$_b$	[night	this]$_c$
m-M-m	M	m-M	M	M

Additional reorderings are from the a b c order to:

a c b

b a c

b c a

c a b

c b a

(46) You should be careful in a foreign country.

əŋkɔw	həndaˀh̃a	hatihati	dinəgəri	ɔraŋ
[you]$_a$	[should	heart-heart]$_b$	[in-country	man]$_c$
M	M-m	M-M	m-M	M

Additional reorderings are to:

a c b

b - a c

c b a

(48) His joy disappeared at once.

kəgəmbira	ʔanña	lənap	səkətika
[joy	-his]$_a$	[disappear]$_b$	[at once]$_c$
m-M-m	-m	M	m-M

Additional reorderings are to:

a c b

b c a

c b a

Sentences (49) and (50) which follow show profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase].

(49) Uncle ran out of gasoline on his way.

paman	kəhabisan	bensin	ditəŋah	jalan
[uncle]$_a$	[run-out]	[gasoline]$_b$	[middle	road]$_c$
M	m-M-m	M	m-M	M

Additional reorderings are to:

a c b

b a c

b c a

c a b

c b a

(50) Let's just wait until he comes.

kita	nantikan	saja	dia	sampɛy	dataŋ
[we(excl.)]	[wait	only]	[him]	[up to	come]
M	M-m	m	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M

The [O phrase] here may seem pivotal—object of preceding [V phrase] and subject of following phrase. But the following phrase is a [L phrase], which begins with phrase introducer, as in sentence (44), above.

Sentences (51) and (51a) which follow, show profile [O phrase] [Neg. phrase] [subject-embedded V phrase].

(51) He cannot use his narrow shoes.

səpatuña	səmpit	ta?	dapat	dipakɛyña
[shoe-3rd person	narrow]$_{a}$	[not]$_{b}$	[able	past-use-3rd person]$_{c}$
M-m	M	M	M	m-M-m

b c a

(51a) He never listened to his advisors.

pənasihatña	ta?	pərnah	didəŋarkanña
[advisor-his]$_{a}$	[not——once]$_{b}$		[past-listen-he]
m-M-m	M——M		m-M-m-m

b c a

b a c

Sentences (52) to (56) which follow, show profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase].

(52) Such an affair cannot be left to go on.

hal	dəmikian	ta?	bisa	dibiarkan	tərus
[matter	such]$_{a}$	[not]$_{b}$	[able	past-leave-past	go on]$_{c}$
M	M	M	M	m-M-m	M

This is reorderable to b c a.

(53) You don't know yet.

sɔwdara	bəlum	tau
[brother]$_a$	[not yet]$_b$	[know]$_c$
M	M	M

The [S phrase], glossed brother, is used in addressing peers; this is reorderable to b c a.

(54) Lack of food does not become an obstacle.

kəkuraŋan	makanan	tak	məñjadi	halaŋan
[lack	food]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[become	obstacle]$_c$
m-M-m	M-m	M	m-M	M-m

This is reorderable to b c a.

(55) One cannot trust that information.

ketəraŋan	itu	tidaʔ	dapat	dipərcaya
[information	that]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[can	past-trust]$_c$
m-M-m	M	M	M	m-M

This is reorderable to b c a.

(56) There are no ghosts.

hantu	taʔ	ada
[ghost]	[not]	[exist]
M	M	M

Sentences (57) and (58) show profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(57) This woman does not buy a necklace.

pərəmpuan	ini	tidaʔ	məmbəli	kaluŋ
[woman	this]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[buy]$_c$	[necklace]$_d$
M	M	M	m-M	M

This is reorderable to b c d a.

(58) His ricefield does not produce rice.

sawahña	tidaʔ	məŋhasilkan	padi
[ricefield-his]	[not]	[produce]	[rice]
M-m	M	m-M-m	M

Sentences (59) and (60) show profile [V phrase]$_a$ [O phrase]$_b$, which is reorderable from a b to b a profile.

(59) Tell me what you have in mind.

katakan	maksut	hatimu
[say]	[aim	heart-your]
M-m	M	M-m

(60) Clean the blackboard!

bərsihkan	papan		tulis	itu
[clean]	[board	-	write	that]
M-m	M	-	M	M

The remaining Bahasa Indonesia sentences in our sample are cited with information on the possibilities of phrase reordering.

(61) His friend will meet him.

kawanña	akan	mənǰəmputña
[friend-his]	[will	verb-meet-him]
M - m	M	m-M-m

Sentence (30) shows the [S phrase] [V—O phrase]. The object is the minor morpheme /ña/ 3rd person, which is suffixed to the verb.

(62) Trading is not easy.

jual		bəli	məñjadi	tidaʔ	lañcar
[sell	-	buy]$_a$	[become]$_b$	[not]$_c$	[smooth]$_d$
M	-	M	m-M	M	M

Or b c d a.

(63) Karim bought his sister a book.

karim	məmbəlikan	buku	adiʔña
[Karim]$_a$	[buy-for]$_b$	[book]$_c$	[sister-his]$_d$
M	m-M-m	M	M-m

The profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [indirect O phrase] is reorderable to b c d a profile.

(64) After work he ate as much as he could.

sətəlah	bəkərja	ia	makan	səbañaʔ	bañaʔña
[after	work]$_a$	[he]	[eat]$_b$	[many-many-the]$_c$	
m-M	m-M	M	M	m-M-M -m	

This is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

c b a

(65) Granny always gives us advice.

wenɛʔ	səlalu	məmbəri	nasihat	kəpada	kami
[grandmother]$_a$	[always]$_b$	[give	advice]$_c$	[to	we(incl.)]$_d$
M	M	m-M	M	m	M

This is reorderable to:

b c d a

c d a b

d a b c

(65(a)) The car's speed is dangerous.

mobil	itu	bərbahaya	kəcəpatanña
[car	that]$_a$	[dangerous]$_b$	[speed-its]$_c$
M	M	m-M	m-M-m-m

Or b c a.

(66) The child has a big head.

anaʔ	itu	bəsar	kəpalaña
[child	that]$_a$	[big]$_b$	[head-its]$_c$
M	M	M	M-m

Or b c a.

(67) The small child was afraid of her own shadow.

anaʔ	kəcil	itu	takut	bayaŋanña	səndiri
[child	small	that]$_a$	[frighten]$_b$	[shadow-3rd person	own]$_c$
M	M	M	M	M - m	M

Or b c a.

(68) He put on the coat he had just bought.

dikənakanña	baju	yaŋ	baru	dibəliña
[past-put on-3rd person]$_a$	[(coat	particularizer)	new]$_b$	[past-buy-3rd person]$_c$
m- M -m	M	m	M	m-M-m

This is reorderable to b c a.

(69) The teacher cannot go on teaching such a stupid child.

taʔ	tahan	guru	itu	məŋajar	anaʔ	səbodɔh	itu
[not]$_a$	[endure]$_b$	[teacher	that]$_c$	[teach]	[child	stupid	that]$_d$
M	M	M	M	m-M	M	m-M	M

This is reorderable to:

c a b d

d a b c

d c a b

(70) I don't want to drink coffee in the afternoon.

aku	taʔ	suka	minum	kopi	waktu	siaŋ
[I]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[like]$_c$	[drink	coffee]$_d$	[time	day]$_e$
M	M	M	M	M	M	M

This is reorderable to:

b c a d e

b c d e a

d e a b c

d e b c a

d c a b e

(71) Amat has not once visited his mother up to now.

səlama	ini	amat	taʔ	pərnah	mənɛŋɔʔ	ibuña
[long	this]$_a$	[Amat]$_b$	[not——	once]$_c$	[visit]	[mother-his]$_d$
m-M	M	M	M——	M	m-M	M-m

This is reorderable to:

a c b d

b c d a

b a c d

d a c b

d c b a

(72) Don't be lazy while you are still young.

səlagi	muda	jaŋan		bərmalas malas
[while	young]$_a$	[imperative	not]$_b$	[lazy-lazy]$_c$
m	M	M		m-M-M

This is reorderable to b c a.

(73) Peasants in my area always have difficulties.

paʔ tani didaɛrahku səlalu məŋalami kəsulitan

[father-peasant]$_a$ [in-area-my]$_b$ [always]$_c$ [experience difficulty]$_d$

M-M m-M -m m m-M m-M-m

This is reorderable to c d a b and to c a d b.

(74) He brought his merchandise to the big market.

dagaŋanña kəpasar bəsar dibawaña

[merchandise-his]$_a$ [to-market big]$_b$ [take-he]$_c$

This is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(75) He had to sell his rice to the town.

padiña tərpaksa dijualña kəkɔta

[rice-3rd person]$_a$ [force past-sell-3rd person]$_b$ [to-town]$_c$

M-m m-M m-M - m m-M

This is reorderable to b c a.

(76) When it is moonlight, the children play outside.

waktu təraŋ mbulan anaʔ anaʔ bərmain diluar

[when (bright moon)]$_a$ [child-child]$_b$[play outside]$_c$

m M - M M-M m-M m-M

This is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(77) He ate at a restaurant then.

kəmudian	dia	makan	dirəstɔran
[then]$_a$	[he]$_b$	[eat]$_c$	[at-restaurant]$_d$
M	M	M	m-M

This is reorderable to:

a c d b

b a c d

c d b a

(78) Moist air does not smell fresh.

udara	ləmbap	taʔ	səgar	baũna
[air	moist]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[fresh]$_c$	[smell-3rd person]$_d$
M	M	M	M	M-m

This is reorderable to:

a d b c

b c d a

d a b c

(79) Our reply is not prepared.

kami	bəlum	lagi	siap	dəŋan	jawapan	kami
[we]$_a$	[not yet]	[at all	ready]$_b$	[with	answer	we]$_c$
M	M	M	M	M	M-m	M

This is reorderable to b a c and c b a.

(80) The poor child does not have parents any longer.

anaʔ	malaŋ	itu	taʔ	bər ɔraŋ tua	lagi
[(child	unfortunate	that)]$_a$	[not]$_b$	[have-man-old	again]$_c$
M	M	M	M	m-M - M	M

This is reorderable to b c a.

(81) I like to drink coffee in the morning.

aku	suka	minum	kɔpi	pagipagi
[I]$_a$	[like]$_b$	[drink	coffee]$_c$	[morning-morning]$_d$
M	M	M	M	M-M

This is reorderable to:

a d b c

b c a d

b a d c

c d b a

c b a d

d a b c

d b c a

(82) Every peasant owns a bicycle today.

tiap	pətani	səkaraŋ	məmpuñai	səpɛda
[every	peasant]$_a$	[today]$_b$	[own]$_c$	[bicycle]$_d$
M	m-M	M	m-M-m	M

This is reorderable to:

a c d b

b a c d

b c d a

c d b a

(83) He did not want to retreat, not even a step.

sətapaʔpun	ia	taʔ	mau	mundur
[one-step-even]$_a$	[he]$_b$	[not]$_c$	[want	retreat]$_d$
m-M -m	M	M	M	M

Or b c d a.

(84) They went one by one to town.

səˀɔraŋ	səˀɔraŋ	mərɛka	pərgi	kəkɔta
[one-man	one-man]$_a$	[they]$_b$	[go]$_c$	[to-town]$_d$
m-M	m-M	M	M	m-M

This is reorderable to:

a c d b

b c d a

b a c d

c d b a

b c a d

(85) The girl does not have a mother any longer.

gadis	itu	səbənarña	tidaʔ	bəribu	lagi
[girl	that]$_a$	[real-3rd person]$_b$	[not]	[have-mother	again]$_c$
M	M	m-M-m	M	m-M	M

This is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

c a b

(86) He intentionally violated the regulation.

ɔraŋ	itu	dəŋan	səŋaja	məlaŋgar	pəraturan
[man	that]$_a$	[with	purpose]$_b$	[violate]$_c$	[regulation]$_d$
M - M		M -	M	m-M	m-M-m

Reorderable to:

a c d b

b a c d

b c d a

c d b a

(87) The car is astonishingly fast.

mobil itu bukan main cəpatña

[automobile that]$_a$ [no play]$_b$ [speed-its]$_c$

Reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(88) The train's whistle is loud.

kreta api itu kəras pəluit ña

[carriage-fire that]$_a$[loud]$_b$[whistle-its]$_c$

M - M M M M-m

Reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(89) This coffee is delicious.

kɔpi ini sədap rasaña

[coffee this]$_a$ [delicious]$_b$ [taste-its]$_c$

M M M M - m

Reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(90) That flower has a good scent.

buŋa	itu	harum	bauña
[flower	that]$_a$	[fragrant]$_b$	[smell-its]$_c$
M	M	M	M-m

Reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(91) Why did the policeman go up and down the street?

meŋapa	polisi	itu	mondar	mandir	dijalan
[why]$_a$	[police	that]$_b$	[go up-go down]		[in-street]$_c$
M	M	M	M-M		m-M

Reorderable to:

a c b

b a c

(92) Why does the doctor not practice?

meŋapa	dɔktər	itu	tidaʔ	bərpraktɛk
[why]$_a$	[doctor	that]$_b$	[not]$_c$	[practice]$_d$
M	M	M	M	m-M

Reorderable to:

a c d b

b a c d

(93) Why is the dog barking all the time?

məŋapa	añjiŋ	itu	məŋgɔŋgɔŋ	saja
[why]$_a$	[dog	that]$_b$	[bark	merely]$_c$
M	M	M	m-M	M

Reorderable to:

b a c

c b a

(94) How far is the town?

bərapa	jauhña	kota	itu
[how much]$_a$	[distance]$_b$	[town	that]$_c$
M	M-m	M	M

Reorderable to:

a c b

b a c

b c a

c a b

(95) Why are you always so sad?

məŋapa	əŋkɔw	səlalu	bərsədih	saja
[why]$_a$	[you]$_b$	[always]$_c$	[sad	merely]$_d$
m-M	M	M	m-M	M

Reorderable to:

a c d b

a d b c

b c d a

b a c d
b d c a
c d a b
c d b a
c b d a

(96) Why were you so sad yesterday?

məŋapa	əŋkɔw	kəmarin	bərsədih	saja
[why]$_a$	[you]$_b$	[yesterday]$_c$	[sad	merely]$_d$
M	M	M	m-M	M

(97) What did the man give the begger just now?

ɔraŋ	itu	məmbari	apa	kəpada	ɔraŋ	mintaminta
[man	that]$_a$	[give]$_b$	[what]$_c$	[to	man	beg - beg]$_d$
M	M	m-M	M	m	M	M - M

tadi
[just now]$_e$
M

Reorderable to:

b c a d e
b c d e a
e a b c d

(98) What did you give the beggar just now?

kɔwbari	apa	ɔraŋ	mintaminta	tadi
[you-give]$_a$	[what]$_b$	[man	beg-beg]$_c$	[just now]$_d$
m-M	M	M	M-M	M

(99) It is very difficult to get this kind of a pearl.

saŋat	sukar	məndapat	mutiyara	səparti	ini
[very	difficult]	[verb-obtain]	[(pearl	like)	this]
M	M	m-M	M	M	M

(100) His proposal was immediately accepted.

lamaranña	səgra	ditrima
[propos-al-his]$_a$	[immediately	past-accept]$_b$
M-m-m	M	m-M

Or b a.

(101) He suffered one difficulty after another.

kəsulitan	dəmi	kəsulitan	təlah	didəritaña
[noun-difficult-noun	after	noun-difficult-noun]$_a$	[already	past-suffer-he]$_b$
m-M-m	m	m-M-m	M	m-M-m

Or b a.

(102) Everything depends on his head.

səgalaña	bərgantuŋ	kəpada	kəpalaña
[every-3rd person]	[depend]	[to	head-3rd. person]
M-m	m-M	m	M-m

(103) Population increases so fast.

pənduduʔ	bərtambah	dəmikian	pəsatña
[inhabitant]$_a$	[increase]$_b$	[so	fast-3rd person]$_c$
m-M	m-M	m	M-m

Reorderable to:

b c a

c a b

(104) You cannot make head or tail of his talk.

pərcakapanña	bərsimpaŋ		siur
[noun-talk-3rd person]	[turn	-	cross]
m-M-m	m-M-M		

(105) They bought their freedom with bloodshed.

kəmərdɛkaʔan		mərɛka	dibəliña	dəŋan	pənumpaan	darah
[freedom	-	their]$_a$	[bought-they]$_b$	[with	shed	blood]$_c$
m-M-m		M	m-M-m	m	m-M-m	M

Reorderable to:

b c a

c b a

b a c

(106) Reading that book is his hobby.

məmbaca	buku	itu	kəgəmaranña
[verb-read]	[book	that]	[hobby-his]
m-M	M	M	m-M-m-m

(107) It is very simple to do.

saŋat	mudah	məŋərjakanña
[very	easy]	[verb-do-it]
M	M	m-M-m-m

(108) This problem must immediately be solved.

pərsɔʔalan	ini	harus	səgra	disələsɛykan
[problem	this]$_a$	[must	immediately	past solve past]$_b$
m-M-m	M	M	M	m-M-m

Or b a.

(109) He lighted the stump of his cigarette.

dinalakanña puntuŋ rɔkɔʔña

[past-light-3rd person][stump cigarette-3rd person]

m-M-m M M-m

(110) You'd better go home first.

səbaikña əŋkɔw pulaŋ dulu

[good-it]$_a$ [you]$_b$ [go home]$_c$ [formerly]$_d$

m-M-m M M M

This is reorderable to:

a c d b

b c d a

b a c d

c d b a

(111) However much he tried to send his child to school, he failed.

bərapa juga usahaña untuʔ məñəkɔlahkan anaʔña gagal

[how much also]$_a$ [try-his] [for sent-to-school] [child-his]$_b$ [fail]$_c$

M M M-m m m-M-m M-m M

This is reorderable to:

b a c

a c b

(112) Honestly I don't have any money right now.

tərus təraŋ aku taʔ bəruaŋ səkaraŋ ini

[straight clear]$_a$ [I] [not] [money]$_b$ [now this]$_c$

M-M M M m-M M M

This is reorderable to:

a c b

b c a

b a c

c b a

(113) When it was the time to win back West New Guinea, my brother became a volunteer.

waktu	mərəbut	irian	barat//	kakaʔ	jadi	sukarelawan
[time]	[retrieve]	[Irian	west]	[brother]	[become]	[volunteer]
M	m-M	M	M	M	M	M-m

The double slant lines show pause juncture.

(114) Your article can not be published yet.

karaŋanmu	bəlum	dapat	ditərbitkan
[composition-your]$_a$	[not yet]$_b$	[able]$_c$	[past-publish-past]$_d$
M-m-m	M	M	m-M-m

Or b c a d or b c d a.

(115) She was very happy at her child's return.

taʔ	tərkira	giraŋ	hatiña	məlihat	anaʔña	kəmbali
[not	guess]	[happy]	[heart-her]	[see]	[child-her]	[return]
M	m-M	M	M-m	m-M	M-m	M

(116) The three of us went home.

kita	bərtiga	pulaŋ
[we(incl)]$_a$	[three]$_b$	[go home]$_c$
M	m-M	M

This is reorderable to a c b. Profiles analogous to (116) and (117) are not found in Javanese sentences.

(117) Both of them came here.

mərɛka	bərdua	dataŋ	kəmari
[they]$_a$	[two]$_b$	[come]$_c$	[here]$_d$
M	m-M	M	m-M

This is reorderable to:

a c d b

c a d b

c a b d

c d a b

MARANAO

4.9. In Howard McKaughan's classification (after Conklin, but not followed by Dyen), the Philippine languages are typologically bifurcated so that a given language will turn out to be either of the Tagalog type or the Ilocano type. (The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs, p.1, Manila, 1958):

"Maranao is spoken by some 250,000 persons living for the most part in the Province of Lanao on the Island of Mindanao, Philippines. The language is mutually intelligible with Magindanao which is spoken in the Province of Cotabato by approximately the same number of speakers. These languages . . . may be grouped with languages spoken in other parts of Mindanao, the Visayas, and Central Luzon, including Tagalog. They diverge somewhat from Philippine languages which are grouped with Ilocano."

The sentences which follow include both those transcribed by McKaughan in Hawaii (1963) and those excerpted by us from his published Ph. D. thesis (op. cit.); we cite his orthography with values as given by him (pp. 2-3):

"The segmental phonemes of Maranao are much the same as those in many other Philippine languages. There are voiceless and voiced stops, and nasals, at bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation: /p,t,k/; /b,d,g/; and /m,n,ng/. Note that we use a digraph to represent the velar nasal. A sibilant and two liquids occur at the alveolar point of articulation: /s,l,r/. The last is flapped. Glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs frequently in word final position, contrasting with its absence as well as with other consonants. It also interrupts vowel sequences, though there are many instances of vowel sequences which are not interrupted by any consonant. Since glottal stop is often lost in syntactic sequences, its frequency is very low in our text material. This phoneme thus has a very low functional load.

"There are four vowels: /i/, /o/, /e/, and /a/. In running text material, a count of some 8 to 10,000 phonemes gave the following relative frequencies: /a/ somewhat more than 50 percent; /i/ and /o/ somewhat less than 20 percent each; and /e/ less than 10 percent. The last seems to carry the least functional load of the four. It is a central mid to high vocoid. /i/ and /o/ when vocalic are mid-high to high, front and back respectively. We have used o as a symbol rather than u since it is used by Maranaos who write their language with the Roman script.

"The high vowels have syllabic and non-syllabic allophones. We present evidence here in more detail since others have written semi-vowels for the non-syllabic variety. Though somewhat complicated, the distribution cited below seems the best analysis since it saves describing automatic morphophonemic variation elsewhere.

"1. All high vocoids are syllabic adjacent to consonants: [somoa] /sonoa/, [soiʔ]/soiʔ/, [koa] /koa/, [pagoitan] /pagoitan/, [miailai ran] /miailai ran/.

"2. When not adjacent to consonants, the front high vocoid is always non-syllabic. [aya] /aia/, [ilay] /ilai/, [kaoyagoyag] /kaoiagoiag/, [oyag] /oiag/.

"3. In sequences of high vocoids, the high back vocoid is syllabic even non-adjacent to consonants if there are three or more contiguous vocoids. Otherwise, the high back vocoid is non-syllabic non-adjacent to consonants. [witoit] /oitoit/, [wataʔ] /oataʔ/, [pagoawawan] /pagoaoaoan/; but [kaoyagoyag] /kaoiagoiag/, [oyag]/oiag/, [somioa] /somioa/, [somioiʔ] /somioiʔ/ [liolioan] /liolioan/.

"Note that there is a slight glide in transition from a syllabic high vocoid to another vocoid especially from the back variety to /a/: [ʔo^{w}ay] /ʔoai/, [somio^{w}a] /somioa/. These glides are phonetically distinguished from the non-syllabic variety of the phoneme by their shorter duration, and less lip rounding."

In the comments on sentences which follow, our minor morpheme phrase introducers correspond to 'particles' in McKaughan's usage (Overt Relation Markers in Maranao, Lg. 38. 47-51, 1962):

"The grammatical relations of actor, direct object, indirect object, and instrument are marked in Maranao by the particles *o*, *sa*, and *ko*. Cutting across the grammatical relations marked by these particles is another, indicating that a certain substantive is the topic of the sentence, or has a primary relation to the verb. In Maranao this primary relation is indicated by the particle *so* (or substitutes for *so* phrases). Wherever *so* introduces a phrase related to the verb, that phrase is the topic of the sentence. The topic in turn may have various relations to the verb, depending on what is required by certain verbal affixes: one affix indicates that the topic is the actor; another affix indicates a direct object; a third indicates an indirect object or referent; and a fourth indicates that which is used to bring about the action, or that which causes the action.

"Any phrase (or pronoun) may be emphasized as above either by indicating the referent by a substantive phrase with introductory so and placing it first in the sentence, or by using in this position a form from the topic set of pronouns. However, if such a phrase is the topic of the sentence (marked by particle so), it need not be referred to a second time by a pronoun."

"The particle o marks source whether of an action or of an object. When a phrase introduced by this particle is related to a verb, it usually corresponds to an English actor expression, since we do not have a way to indicate attribution to a verb to show source of action. If it occurs within a larger phrase, so that the o-phrase is related to a substantive, the English equivalent indicates possession.

"The particle sa also marks a relation either between substantives or between verb and substantive. Examples of sa with substantives: so solotan sa mandaian 'the Sultan of Mandaya' or 'the Mandayan Sultan'; so pirak sa banko (the money the bank) 'the bank money', so manga torko sa bolgaria 'the Turks of Bulgaria' or 'the Bulgarian Turks'. In each of these instances, the sa phrase has a close relation to the preceding substantive, characterizing it in some way.

"The particle ko marks a grammatical relation to verb or substantive which is not as close as that marked by sa. Again, the relation may be between substantives or between substantive and verb.... Where sa marks the direct object, ko would indicate the indirect object: Komoa so mama' sa karabao ko koit 'The man will get carabao with a stick'. "

Maranao sentences numbered (1) to (16), below, show the profile [Comment phrase] [S phrase]. For Maranao, we use the term Subject instead of Topic, since the [S phrase] interior includes a minor morpheme phrase introducer, glossed subject (subj), irrespective of whether the [S phrase] appears in a profile with [Comment phrase] or with [Verb phrase]. For Maranao also, we gloss some same minor morphemes one way when they function as phrase introducer — first m before major morpheme generally (M, or string of morphemes beginning with M) — and we gloss them another way when they function as connector between major morphemes, [M m M] — namely: connector, as in sentences (7) and (11), or of in sentences (8) and (10), or referent in sentence (9), and so on.

(1) The rope is short.

mababaʼ so tali

[formative-short] [subj. rope]

m-M m M

(2) He is good.

mapia sekanian

[formative-good] [3rd sg subj.]

m-M M

(3) There are three canoes.

telo so balotoʼ

[three] [subj. canoe]

M m M

(4) The waves are big.

malaʼ so begel

[formative-big] [subj. wave]

m-M m M

(5) The nights are hot.

mayao so gagaoiʼi

[formative-hot] [subj. night]

m-M m M

(6) The restaurant is good.

mapia so pekanan

[formative-good] [subj. future-eat-place]

m-M m m-M-m

(7) The rice dish is good.

mapia so lapad a begas

[formative-good] [subj. dish connector rice]

m-M	m	M	m	M

(8) The dish of rice is good.

mapia	so	lapad	o	begas
[formative-good]	[subj.	dish	of	rice]
m-M	m	M	m	M

(9) The rice in the dish is good.

mapia	so	begas	ko	lapad
[formative-good]	[subj.	rice	referent	dish]
m-M	m	M	m	M

(10) The land of the Fijians is good.

mapia	so	inged	o	tao	sa	fiji
[formative-good]	[subj.	country	of	people	in	Fiji]
m-M	m	M	m	M	m	M

(11) The rice dish is good.

mapia	so	lapad	sa	begas
[formative-good]	[subj.	dish	connector	rice]
m-M	m	M	m	M

(12) Here is a canoe.

kati'i	so	baloto'
[this]	[subj.	canoe]
M	m	M

(13) Where is father?

anda	si	ama'
[where]	[subj-person	father]
M	m-m	M

(14) Where is my father?

anda	si	ama?	aken
[where]	[subj.-person	father	1st sg non-obj.]
M	m-m	M	M

(15) The lake is rough.

bebegelen	so	ranao
[waving]	[subj.	lake]
((M) M) -m	m	M

The interior parenthesis under the gloss for waving points to reduplication of the first syllable of the major morpheme (M).

(16) The child is sleeping.

totorogen	so	oata?
[sleeping]	[subj.	child]
((M) M)-m	m	M

Sentences with profile [Comment phrase] [S phrase], as (1) to (16) above, can all be non-contrastively transformed to another profile: [S phrase] m [Comment phrase]. This new profile does not represent a simple re-ordering or inversion of the profile shown in (1) to (16); rather, it represents a transformation which includes the addition of a minor morpheme—m in formula—between the two phrases, inverted from the point of view of sentences (1) to (16), above, which are all invertible in this transformational way. Sentence (17), following, exemplifies the new profile: [S phrase] m [Comment phrase].

(17) Some of the children are asleep.

so	ped	a	manga	oata?	na	totorogen
[subj.	companion	connector	plural	child]	connector	[sleeping]
m	M	m	m	M	m	((M) M)-m

Sentences (18) to (21), following, show a single phrase profile with embedded subject: [ES-Comment phrase]. The phrase interiors of different sentences exemplifying this profile have this in common: they all include a minor morpheme (m), glossed *connector*, which precedes the major morpheme (M) that specifies the Embedded Subject.

(18) *He is a good child*.

mapia	sekanian	a	oata?
[*formative-good*	*3rd sg. subj.*	*connector*	*child*]
m-M	M	m	M

The formula gives M for the paradigmatic complex that is glossed *third person singular subject* (*3rd sg. subj.*).

(19) *Lanao is big*.

mala?	a	ranao
[*formative-big*	*connector*	*Lanao*]
m-M	m	M

(20) *Lanao is hot*.

mayao	sa	ranao
[*formative-hot*	*connector*	*Lanao*]
m-M	m	M

Selection of different connectors instead of /sa/ appearswhen the referent is different, and yields such free translations as *Lanao is a hot thing*, and as *Lanao is what is hot*, and so on.

(21) *There is no water*.

da	a	ig
[*none*	*connector*	*water*]
M	m	M

Sentences (22) to (26), following, show a single phrase profile:

[V phrase]. The [SE-Comment] showed interior with embedded subject specified, but 'part of speech' not specified. In the [V phrase] profile exemplified below, the subject is not really specified (but rendered in free translation as he), nor is the object really specified (but given in free translation as it), nor is the referent really specified (but freely rendered in (25) as on it), nor is the instrumental really specified (but rendered in (26) as with it). In this [V phrase] profile, and in all other profiles including [V phrase], the 'part of speech' — namely verb — is specified by affixes whose domains are concerned with tense (glossed present, progressive, past, or future), with aspect (glossed can), and with concord (glossed subjective (subjv.), objective (objv.), referential (ref.), or instrumental (instr.) in sentences (22) to (26) following. Since these sentences show single phrase profile — [V phrase] — they do not realize the particular concord that is specified in each [V phrase]; such realization requires sentences with two or more phrases in order to permit the correlation between the particular concord specified in the [V phrase], which generally appears without phrase introducer, on the one hand, and another phrase which always appears with phrase introducer and specifies the Subject of the correlation or the Object of the correlation, and so on. In sentences (22) to (26) the particular kind of concord is specified, but without correlated phrase.

(22) He is eating. Someone is eating.

peken

[present-progressive-eat subjv.]

m- (M→ m̄-M)

In the formula, the first minor morpheme (m-) stands for the prefix /pe-/; the following parenthesis shows that the infix (-m̄-with macron) is inserted within one major morpheme — M for /kan/ broken apart (M→ -M) by replacive infix /e/; zero marks *subjv*.

(23) *He's eaten it*.

kian

[*past-eat* *objv*.]

(M → m̄-M)

In the formula, the parenthesis shows that an infix — m̄ standing for /i/ — is inserted within one major morpheme, namely M for /kan/, as in sentence (22), which is here broken apart, /k→ -an/, by additive infix /i/ which marks *past* and the fact that zero concord is *objv*.

(24) *It can be seen*.

keʔilai

[*can-future-see objv.*]

m-m-M

Alternate free translations are *It is visible*; *He can see it*; *He will be able to see it*. In formula, m-m stands for two successive prefixes, /k/ and /e/.

(25) *It had blood on it*.

kiarogoʔan

[*can-past-blood-ref.*]

(m→ m̄-m) -M-m

In the formula, the parenthesis shows that an infix — m̄ standing for /i/ *past* — is inserted in the prefix /ka/ *can*, which is broken apart as /k→ -a/ to accommodate the infix. The suffix (-m) after the major morpheme (M) marks concord of a referential kind.

(26) *He is cleaning with it*. / *Something is being used to clean it.*

i pepelompio

[instr.-present-progressive-distributive-clean]

m-m-m-m-M

An alternative free translation is: Something is being used to clean it. Neither subject nor object are specified, nor are they implied by an affix marking concord. The concord specified is of the instrumental (instr.) kind—by prefix /i/. In formula, this prefix (m-) is the first of a string of four prefixes before the major morpheme (M), /lompio/, which is borrowed from Spanish (limpio).

Not unlike the sentences immediately preceding, the next group of sentences, (27) to (31), also show single phrase profiles, with 'part of speech' of the phrase nucleus specified as Verb. In addition, however, the new sentence profiles show Embedded Subject; and some also show Embedded Object or Indirect Object. Sentences such as these are unusual in that they begin with major morpheme phrase introducers, glossed all, why, negative (neg.), interrogative, but not with minor morpheme phrase introducers which characteristically initiate non-verb phrases in Maranao.

(27) I want them all.

palaia	aken	kebebaia'an
[all	1st sg. non-obj.	formative-intensive-future-desire-ref.]
M	M	m - ((M) -m -M) -m

The profile here is [ES - V phrase].

(28) I will not open it for you.

di	aken	seka	peleka'an
[neg.	1st non-obj.	2nd sg. ref.	future-open-ref.]
M	M	M	M→ m ← M -m

The profile here is [ES-IO-V phrase].

(29) Let us not do that.

di	tano	anan	soaʔan
[neg.	1st pl. incl. non-obj.	that	do-ref.]
M	M	M	M-m

The profile here is indeterminate; the morpheme glossed that appears to function as Object but the verb suffix marks concord of the referential kind, which generally correlates with Indirect Object.

(30) Why don't you do this?

ino	ngka	ini	di	soaʔa
[why	2nd sg non-obj.	this	not	do-objv. must]
M	M	M	M	M-m

The profile here is [ES-EO-V phrase] .

(31) Am I not known to you?; Don't you know me?

ba	ako	ngka	di	kataoi
[interrogative	1st sg. ref.	2nd sg. non-obj.	neg.	find out-ref. must]
M	M	M	m	M-m

The profile here is [ES-IO-V phrase].

Sentences (32) to (46), following, show profile [V phrase] [S phrase]. The [V phrase] interior for most of these includes specification of concord of the subjective kind. In sentences (33), (43), (46), and (47), however, the concord specified in the [V phrase] is of the objective kind which is not realized in this profile, since it does not include an [O phrase] with which to correlate.

(32) They are drinking.

peginom	siran
[present-progressive-drink subjv.]	[3rd pl. subj.]
m-m-M	M

(33) They drank it.

ininom iran

[past-drink objv.] [3rd pl. non-obj.]

m-M M

(34) They are going.

lalakao siran

[walk subjv. must] [3rd pl. subj.]

M M

The seeming reduplication always appears as such in our sample for the morpheme glossed walk, which without affixes (zero) marks subjective and must. An alternate free translation is They must go.

(35) I'll go.

lalakao ako

[walk must subjv.] [1st sg. subj.]

M M

Or, I must go.

(36) The moon is setting.

pesedep so olan

[present-progressive-set subjv.] [subj. moon]

m-M→m̄-M m M

The specification of concord in the [V phrase] is of the subjective kind. This specification then correlates with the specification in the [S phrase]—by phrase introducer /so/.

(37) We're hungry.

pekeor kami

[present-progressive-hungry subjv.] [1st pl. excl. subj.]

m-M→m̄-M M

(38) This clock is about to stop.

maga?an	gomenek	so	relos	a?i
[soon	subjv.-stop]	[subj.	clock	here]
M	M→m̄-M	m	M	M

Concord of subjective in the [V phrase] correlates with phrase introducer specification in the [S phrase].

(39) Sit down.

ontod	ka
[sit subjv. must]	[2nd sg. subj.]
M	M

(40) They have gone.

lomialalakao	siran
[subjv.-past-go]	[3rd pl. subj.]
((M→)-m̄-m̄ (M) M)	M

(41) They have gone.

miakalalakao	siran
[subjv.-past-can-go]	[3rd pl. subj.]
m→m̄-m-m-M	M

(43) They have just done it.

imanto	den	kiaipos	iran
[now	indeed	past-act objv.]	[3rd pl. non-obj.]
M	M	M→m̄-M	M

(44) They ate and drank.

komian	ago	mininom	siran
[subjv.-past-eat	and	subjv.-past-drink]	[3rd pl. subj.]
M→m̄-m̄-M	m	m-m-M	M

(45) Bego a Raga and her parents were not even able to speak.

da	den	makatero?	s-i	bego	a	raga
[not	indeed	subjv.-can-talk]	[subj.-person	Bego	connector	Raga
M	M	m-m-M	m-m	M	m	M

ago	so	manga	lokes	ian
and	subj.	plural	old	3rd non-obj.]
m	m	m	M	M

The personal name is literally New girl, linked by /a/.

(46) The man and the woman will cut it.

tabasen	o	mama?	ago	so	bebai
[cut-objv.]	[subj.	man	and	subj.	woman]
M-m	m	M	m	m	M

The morpheme for and (ago) is always followed by /so/ which echoes the phrase introducer (here /o/) in meaning.

(47) The man will cut it.

tabasen	o	mama?
[cut-objv.]	[subj.	man]
M-m	m	M

An alternate free translation is It will be cut by the man.

The profile [V phrase] [O phrase] is exemplified in sentences (48) to (51) which now follow; the correlation anticipated in preceding groups of sentences is here realized. The realization is marked by the phrase interiors on both sides of the correlation—that is, both in the [V phrase] and in the [O phrase]. If the concord specified in the [V phrase] is of the kind glossed objective (objv.), the following [O phrase] begins with the minor morpheme phrase introducer /so/ which is glossed object (obj.) in sentences (48), (50) and (51). However if, as in sentence (49), the concord specified in the [V phrase] is of the kind glossed subjective (subjv.)—or other non-objective specification for other [V phrase] interiors in other sentences—then the following [O phrase] begins with the minor morpheme phrase introducer /sa/ which is glossed object (obj.). There is no doubt that the phrase introducers /so/ and /sa/ are different morphemes, despite the fact that they are glossed the same way in the next set of sentences.

(48) It will out the man.

tabasen	so	mama?
[cut-objv.]	[obj.	man]
M-m	m	M

Or the free translation might be: The man will be cut.

(49) He went to the forest.

somiong	sa	kalasan
[subjv.-past-go]	[obj.	forest]
M→m̄-m̄-M	m	M

(50) He lost the young man's canoe.

miada?	so	baloto?	o	mangoda
[can-past-lose objv.]	[obj.	canoe	of	young man]
m→m̄-m-M	m	M	m	M

Or, The young man's canoe is lost.

(51) He lost my box.

miada?	so	kaban	aken
[can-past-lose objv.]	[obj.	box	1st sg. non-obj.]
m→m̄-m-M	m	M	M

The same sentence with three, rather than two phrases, is translated freely as

I lost the box: [*can-past-lose objv.*] [*obj.* *box*] [*1st sg. non-obj.*].

In sentence (52) the profile is [V phrase] [Ref. phrase]. The concord specified in the [V phrase] is of the kind glossed *objective* (*objv.*) which correlates with the phrase introducer of the [Ref. phrase] glossed *referent* (*ref*.).

(52) *It will be cut for the man*.

tabasen	ko	mana?
[*cut-objv*.]	[*ref*.	*man*]
M-m	m	M

The profile with Embedded Subject and Object for sentences (53) and (54) is [ES-EO-V phrase] [Ref. phrase]. The concord of the first phrase nucleus, glossed *referential* (*ref*.) correlates with the phrase introducer of the [Ref. phrase], which is the /so/ morpheme, here glossed *referent* (*ref*.). There is no doubt that this /so/ phrase introducer is a different morpheme than the /ko/ phrase introducer of sentence (52), above, despite the fact that the two are glossed alike in these sentences. But their correlation with concord specification in verb phrases is different, here and in other sentences.

(53) *They wouldn't allow us to sell our house*.

da	iran	rekami	pakipesa?an	so
[*neg*.	*3rd pl. non-obj*.	*1st pl. excl. obj*.	*causative-sell-ref*.]	[*ref*.
M	M	M	m-M-m	m

oalai	ami
house	*1st pl. excl. non-obj*.]
M	M

(54) *I cannot prepare what he had sent to me*.

di	aken	kataiongan	so	piakioit
[*neg*.	*1st sg. non-obj*.	*can-prepare-ref*.]	[*ref*.	*causative-past-send objv*.
M	M	m-M-m	m	(m→m̄-m)-M

ian	raken
3rd sg. non-obj.	*1st sg. obj*.]
M	M

Sentence (55) shows profile [V phrase] [Inst. phrase]. The *instrumental* (*instr*.) kind of concord specified in the [V phrase] correlates with the minor morpheme phrase introducer /so/ in the following phrase and, indeed, determines its meaning, namely *instrument* (*instr*.).

(55) *He can wipe it with a handkerchief*.

kisising	so	panio
[*can-instr.-wipe*]	[*instr*.	*handkerchief*]
m-m-M	m	M

An alternative free translation is *A handkerchief can be used to wipe it*.

Sentences(56) to (70), following, show profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase]. The last two phrases is this profile either (a) include minor morpheme phrase introducer (having meaning derived from its correlation with concord specification in the [V phrase]) or else (b) include paradigmatic pronouns with different paradigms to show the same kind of meaning as is shown by minor morpheme phrase introducers (that is, the paradigmatic constant rather than the minor morpheme derives its meaning from its correlation with concord specification in the [V phrase]).

(56) *The child will go to Iligan*.

somong	so	oata?	sa	iligan
[*subjv.-go*]	[*subj*.	*child*]	[*obj*.	*Iligan*]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M

(57) He went to Iligan.

somiong	sekanian	sa	iligan
[subjv.-past-go]	[3rd sg. subj.]	[obj.	Iligan]
M→m̿-m̿-M	M	m	M

(58) The man went there.

somiong	so	mamaʔ	roʔo
[subjv.-past-go]	[subj.	man]	[there]
M→m̿-m̿-M	m	M	M

The demonstrative glossed there (and others glossed here, this, that) have the same function that correlates with the concord specification in the [V phrase], but lack phrase introducer, as /sa/ in the immediately preceding sentences.

(59) They'll come here.

somong	siran	siʔi
[subjv.-come]	[3rd pl. subj.]	[here]
M→m̿-M	M	M

(60) I'll cut cloth.

tomabas	ako	sa	dinis
[subjv.-cut]	[1st sg. subj.]	[obj.	cloth]
M→m̿-M	M	m	M

(61) We're hungry.

kebaiaʔ	kami	sa	ken
[formative-future-want subjv.]	[1st pl. excl. subj.]	[obj.	food]
m-m-M	M	m	M

Or more literally, We'll immediately want food.

(62) He has taken the book.

kinoa	nian	so	sorat
[past-get objv.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[obj.	book]
M→m̄-M	M	m	M

(63) Buy the merchandise!

pamasa	ka	sa	dagang-an
[distributive-buy must subjv.]	[you subj.]	[obj.	business-formative]
m-M	M	m	M-m

(64) I had that which is to be served to you cooked.

miakitinda	ako	sa	ipegana?
[subjv.-past-causative-cook]	[1st sg. subj.]	[obj.	instr.-future-serve
(m→M̄-m)-m-M	M	m	m-m-M
reka			
2nd sg. obj.]			
M			

(65) The man gathered the people resting on the edge of the lawn.

linimod	o	mama?	so	tao	a	domedeke?
[past-gather objv.]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	people	connector	subjv. rest
m-M	m	M	m	M	m	M→m̄-M
ko	kilid	o	lama?			
ref.	edge	of	lawn]			
m	M	m	M			

(66) I am looking for someone I can have take care of the cattle.

pepeloloba	ako	sa	mapakatagikor
[present-progressive-look for subjv.]	[I subj.]	[obj.	can-causative-care for objv.
m-m-M	M	m	m-m-M

aken	sa	sapi
1st sg. non-obj.	indef. obj.	cow]
M	m	M

In formula, M for major morpheme may stand for more than one morpheme, as in the derived verb glossed count in the next sentence.

(67) He counted how much he would be about to earn from the five sacks of sugar valued at twenty pesos.

piagitong	ian	piraʔ	i	kelaba
[past-count objv.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[how much	m	can-future-gain objv.
M→m̄-M	M	M	m	m-m-M

nian	ko	lima	ka	sako	a	gola	a
3rd sg. non-obj	ref.	five	link	sack	connector	sugar	connector
M	m	M	m	M	m	M	m

arga	a	doanpolo	a	pirak
value	connector	twenty	connector	money]
M	m	M	m	M

(68) They indeed sailed the sea.

linibat	iran	den	so	ragat
[past-sail objv.]	[3rd pl. non-obj.	indeed]	[obj.	sea]
M→m̄-M	M	M	m	M

(69) He will be able to see them again.

keʔobai	nian	siran	peman
[can-future-see objv.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[3rd pl. obj.	again]
m-m-M	M	M	M

(70) I'll surely kill you.

mbonoʔon	aken	seka	den
[distributive-kill-objv.]	[1st sg. non-subj.]	[2nd sg. emphatic obj.	indeed]
m-M-m	M	M	M

The same phrases, but in a different order than those above, appear in sentences (71) to (74), and show profile [V phrase] [O phrase] [S phrase].

(71) He lost my box.

miadaʔ	so	kaban	aken	ian
[can-past-lose objv.]	[obj.	box	1st sg. non-obj.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]
(m→m̄-m)-M	m	M	M	M

(72) Baʔi sa Agamaniog had some chickens butchered.

miakisombaliʔ	den	sa	manga	manok
[subjv.-past-causative-butcher	indeed]	[obj.	plural	chicken]
(m→m̄-m)-m-M	M	m	m	M

si	baʔi	sa	agamaniog
[subj. person	Baʔi	sa	Agamaniog]
m-m	M	m	M

(73) There are two men standing at the river.

tomitindeg	sa	lawas	a	ig	so	dua	a	mamaʔ
[subjv.-stand]	[obj.	body	m	water]	[subj.	two	m	man]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M	m	M	m	M

(74) There are two men standing over there.

tomitindeg	roʔo	so	dua	a	mamaʔ
[subjv.-stand]	[there]	[subj.	two	connector	man]
M→m̄-M	M	m	M	m	M

Profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ref. phrase] is exemplified by sentences (75) to (80):

(75) He circled the lawn with it.

inilebet ian ko lamaʔ

[instr.-past-go around] [3rd sg. non-obj.] [ref. lawn]

m-m-M M m M

(76) We will rest under the tree.

domedekeʔ kami ko atag o kaio

[subjv.-rest] [1st pl. excl. subj.] [ref. underneath of tree]

M→m̄-M M m M m M

(77) We will be dazzled by her beauty.

sirangen ta ko kataʔid ian

[dazzle-objv.] [1st dual non-obj.] [ref. beauty 3rd sg. non-obj.]

M-m M m M M

(78) He was able to dig in the soft earth.

kialotan ian so malemek a

[can-past-dig-ref.] [3rd sg. non-obj.] [ref. soft connector

(m→m̄-m)-M-m M m M m

lopaʔ

earth]

M

(79) The men are standing in the river.

tomitindeg so manga mamaʔ ko lawas a ig

[subjv.-stand] [subj. plural man] [ref. body connector water]

M→m̄-M m m M m M m M

(80) Let us go the the Sultan of Agamaniog.

somong tano ki solotan sa agamaniog

[subjv.-go] [1st pl. incl. subj.] [ref.-person Sultan of Agamaniog]

M→m̄-M M m-m M m M

The same phrases, but in different order than (75) to (80), above, show profile [V phrase] [Ref. phrase] [S phrase] in sentences (81) and (82):

(81) There are two men standing in the river.

tomitindeg	ko	lawas	a	ig	so	dua	a	mamaʔ
[subjv.-stand]	[ref.	body	connector	water]	[subj.	two	connector	man]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M	m	M	m	M

(82) Put powder on me!

pembedaki	ako	ngka
[distributive-future-powder-ref. must]	[1st sg. ref.]	[2nd sg. non-obj.]
(m→m̄-m)-M-m	M	M

Profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [Inst. phrase] appears in sentence (83); profile [V phrase] [Instr. phrase] [O phrase] in (84); and [V phrase] [O phrase] [Ref. phrase] in (85) and (86):

(83) He painted a picture of the lady they saw in their vision.

initolad	ian	so	baʔi	a	miaʔilai	ran	ko	sambaiang	iran
[instr.-past-paint]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[instr.	lady	connector	can-past-see objv.	3rd pl. non-obj.	ref.	prayer	3rd pl. non-obj.]
m-m-M	M	m	M	m	(m→m̄-m)-M	M	m	M	M

(84) He can wipe off tables with a handkerchief.

kisising	so	panio	sa	lamesaʔan
[can-instr.-wipe]	[instr.	handkerchief]	[indef. obj.	table]
m-m-M	m	M	m	M

An alternative free translation is *A handkerchief can be used to wipe off tables*.

(85) *She was placed in her chamber*.

tiago	sekanian	ko	gibon	ian
[*past-place objv*.]	[*3rd sg. obj*.]	[*ref*.	*chamber*	*3rd sg. non-obj*.]
M→m̄-M	M	m	M	M.

(86) *She was placed in it*.

tiago	sekanian	rekanian
[*past-place objv*.]	[*3rd sg. obj*.]	[*3rd sg. ref.*]
M→m̄-M	M	M

Profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] [Ref. phrase] is exemplified in sentences (87) to (92):

(87) *I am pulling grass from the lawn*.

pembedotan	aken	la	otan	so	lama?
[*distributive-future-pull-ref*.]	[*1st sg. non-obj*.]	[*obj*.	*grass*]	[*ref*.	*lawn*]
(m→m̄-m)-M-m	M	m	M	m	M

Or: *It is from the lawn that I am pulling grass*.

(88) *They sent spies to the women among us*.

siogan	iran	sa	manga	sikrita	so	manga	bebai	rekami
[*past-send-ref*.]	[*3rd pl. non-obj*.]	[*obj*.	*plural*	*spy*]	[*ref*.	*plural*	*woman*	*1st pl. excl. ref*.]
M→m̄-M-m	M	m	m	M	m	m	M	M

(89) *He broke the neck of one of them*.

biadotan	ian	sa	ɫig	so	isa	ʔon
[past-break-ref.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[obj.	neck]	[ref.	one	of them]
M→ m̄-M-m	M	m	M	m	M	M

(90) I'll borrow the money from Father.

motang	ako	sa	pirak	ki	amaʔ
[subjv.-borrow]	[1st sg. subj.]	[obj.	money]	[ref.-person	father]
m-M	M	m	M	m-m	M

(91) The man will get carabao with a stick.

komoa	so	mamaʔ	sa	karabao	ko	koit
[subjv.-get]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	carabao]	[ref.	stick]
M→ m̄-M	m	M	m	M	m	M

(92) The man will get the carabao resting on the edge of the lawn with a stick.

komoa	so	mamaʔ	sa	karabao	a	domedekeʔ	ko
[subjv.-get]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	carabao	connector	subjv.-rest	ref.
M→ m̄-M	m	M	m	M	m	M→ m̄-M	m

kilid	o	lamaʔ	ko	koit
edge	of	lawn]	[ref.	stick]
M	m	M	m	M

Double profile sentences (93) to (97), following, show a first profile (without embedded subject) followed by an out of phrase profile connector. This P connector is pivotal in the sense of relating equally to the first profile and the second or final profile. The first profile begins with Dependent Verb phrase. The interior of the [Dep. V phrase] begins with one or another major morpheme (glossed when, reason, or as soon as); the first profile never appears as a self-sufficient sentence. The second or final profile in each sentence is self-sufficient, and may be uttered without the prior first profile.

Double profile [Dep. V phrase] [S phrase] P connector [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase]:

(93) When they finish it, they will burn the trees.

kagia	mapasad	iran	na	totongen
[when	can-finish objv.]	[3rd pl. non-obj.]	P connector	[burn-objv.]
M	m-M	M	m	M-m

iran	so	manga	kaio
[3rd pl. non-obj.]	[obj.	plural	tree]
M	m	m	M

(94) When the chief arrived, the man assembled the people resting on the edge of the lawn.

kagia	makaoma	so	dato	na	linimod
[when	can-subjv.-arrive]	[subj.	chief]	P connector	[past-gather objv.]
M	m-m-M	m	M	m	M→m̄-M

o	mama?	so	tao	a	domedeke?	ko	kilid
[subj.	man]	[obj.	people	connector	subjv.-rest	ref.	edge
m	M	m	M	m	M→m̄-M	m	M

o	lama?
of	lawn]
m	M

Double profile [Dep. V phrase] [S phrase] P connector [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ref. phrase]:

(95) When Paramisoli awoke, she went to the valley.

kagia	makanao	si	paramisoli	na
[when	subjv.-can-awake]	[subj.-person	Paramisoli]	P connector
M	m-m-M	m-m	M	m

somiong	sekanian	ko	balintad
[subjv.-past-go]	[3rd sg. subj.]	[ref.	valley]
M→m̄-m̄-M	M	m	M

Double profile [Dep. V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] P connector [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ref. phrase] appears in sentence (96), and much the same, but with final [O phrase] in (97):

(96) *The reason I had someone go for you is that I am going to marry Bego a Raga*.

aia	inipakisong	aken	rekano
[reason	instru.-past-causative-go]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[2nd pl. obj.]
M	m-m-m-M	M	M
na	pangaromaˀan	aken	si
P connector	[distributive-marry-ref.]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[ref.-person
m	m-M-m	M	m-m

bego	a	raga
Bego	a	Raga]
M	m	M

(97) *As soon as you cut the cloth that is on the table, I'll cut the paper*.

andai	katabasi	ngka	sa	dinis	ko
[as soon as	can-cut-must ref.]	[2nd sg. non-obj.]	[obj.	cloth	loc.
M	m-M-m	M	m	M	m
lamesaˀan	na	tebasen	aken	so	karatas
table]	P connector	[future-cut-obj.]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[obj.	paper]
M	m	M→m̄-M-m	M	m	M

Double Profile sentences (93) to (97), above, show [V phrase] in each profile, but without Embedded Subject in either profile. Sentences (98) to (100) which follow, show [ES-V phrase] in the first profile or in both the first and second profile of each sentence—or rather, [Dep. ES-V phrase] in the first profile of sentences (98) and (99). Sentence (100) differs from all the other Double Profiles in the order of the profiles, since the first of two is the self-sufficient one, while the second or final profile is the dependent one—and in this order the two Profiles are juxtaposed without intervening P connector.

Double profile [Dep. ES-V phrase] [O phrase] P connector [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ref. phrase]:

(98) If I cannot tackle the work, I will tell it to you.

amaika	di	aken	kelotang	so	galebek
[if	not	1st sg. non-obj.	can-future-tackle objv.]	[obj.	work]
M	M	M	m-m-M	m	M

na	tero?on	aken	reka
P connector	[tell-objv.]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[2nd sg. ref.]
m	M-m	M	M

Double profile [Dep. ES-V phrase] [O phrase] P connector [ES-V phrase] [O phrase]:

(99) If you are not able to borrow money, I will have to go to the coast, won't I?

o	di	ka	makaotang	sa	pirak	na
[if	not	2nd sg. subj.	subjv.-can-borrow]	[obj.	money]	P connector
M	M	M	m-m-M	m	M	m

ba	ako	den	song	sa	ragat
[interrogative	1st sg. subj.	indeed	go subjv. must]	[obj.	sea]
M	M	M	M	m	M

With self-sufficient Profile preceding, Double profile [ES-V phrase] [Dep. ES-EO-V phrase]:

(100) I will not be able to gain anything, if you must get everything.

di	ako	makalaba	o	ba	ngka
[not	1st sg. subj.	subjv.-can-gain]	[if	for sure	2nd sg. non-obj.
M	M	m-m-M	M	M	M

den	palai	koaʔa
indeed	all	get-must objv.]
M	M	M-m

Permutations of profiles (101) to (107) exemplify non-contrastive syntax in Maranao. This is but a fraction of possible permutations of what is in one sense a single sentence reordered (with shifts in emphasis) in terms of different profiles.

The free translation for (101) to (107) is repeated without change, though it would be possible to change the wording of the free translation in order to reflect the shifts in emphasis. Emphasis is achieved—in descending degree—in one or more of three ways: by position (before the [V phrase]); by phrase introducer (phrases introduced by /so/ are emphasized when they are in concord with interior of [V phrase]); and again by position (phrases immediately following the [V phrase] are thereby emphasized).

(101) The man will cut paper on the table.

tomabas	so	mamaʔ	sa	karatas	ko	lamesaʔan
[subjv.-cut]$_a$	[subj.	man]$_b$	[obj.	paper]$_c$	[ref.	table]$_d$
M→$\bar{m}$-M	m	M	m	M	m	M

(101) can be reordered from a b c d to:

a b d c

a c b d

a c d b

a d b c

a d c b

In sentences (102) to (104), the [V phrase] concord specification is different for each sentence—and also different than the concord specification in (101). Hence, the phrase introduced by correlative /so/ phrase introducer—the phrase that is emphasized—differs for each of these sentences. In (101), it is the phrase glossed [Subj. man] that is emphasized; in (102), it is the phrase glossed [Obj. paper] that is emphasized; in (103), it is [ref. table] that is emphasized; and finally, an additional phrase appears in expanded (104) on which emphasis falls—that glossed [instr. scissors].

(102) The man will cut paper on the table.

tabasen	o	mamaʔ	so	karatas	ko	lamesaʔan
[cut-objv.]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	paper]	[ref.	table]
M-m	m	M	m	M	m	M

(103) The man will cut paper on the table.

tabasan	o	mamaʔ	sa	karatas	so	lamesaʔan
[cut-ref.]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	paper]	[ref.	table]
M-m	m	M	m	M	m	M

(104) The man will cut paper on the table with scissors.

itabas	o	mamaʔ	sa	karatas	so	gunting	ko	lamesaʔan
[instr.-cut]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	paper]	[instr.	scissors]	[ref.	table]
m-M	m	M	m	M	m	M	m	M

Just as (101) can be reordered from a b c d to other phrase orders, so the relative order of the succession of phrases for sentences (102) to (104) can be reordered, as listed for (101), above.

Sentences (105) to (107), though bearing the same message except for shifts in emphasis, are transformations that reflect more than mere reordering of phrases. They reflect three features in addition to reordering.

(1) If the phrase functioning as Subject is spoken before the [V phrase], as in (105)—or the phrase functioning as Object, as in (106), or the phrase functioning as Referent, as in (107)—then an out-of-phrase minor morpheme glossed connector intervenes between the pre-verb phrase and the [V phrase].

(2) The pre-verb phrase begins with phrase introducer /so/, but in this unusual pre-verb position, the usual concord of phrase beginning in /so/ with the [V phrase] specification may not be realized, as it is not in (106) and (107).

(3) When this concord between [V phrase] specification and pre-verb phrase is not realized, a redundant phrase—glossed it in (106) and (107)—is added after the [V phrase]. The phrases after the [V phrase] can be reordered, as in sentences (101) to (104).

(105) The man will cut paper on the table.

so	mamaʔ	na	tomabas	sa	karatas	ko	lamesaʔan
[m	man]	connector	[subjv.-cut]	[obj.	paper]	[ref.	table]

(106) The man will cut paper on the table.

so	karatas	na	tomabas	on	so	mamaʔ	ko	lamesaʔan
[m	paper]	connector	[subjv.-cut]	[it]	[subj.	man]	[ref.	table]

(107) The man will cut paper on the table.

so	lamesa?an	na	tomabas	on	so	mama?	sa	karatas
[m	table]	connector	[subjv.-cut]	[it]	[subj.	man]	[obj.	paper]

For (108) to (129), following, phrase segmentation is shown without further indication of profiles for the sentences as wholes.

(108) The man can find out about the law.

so	kokoman	na	kataoan	o	mama?
[m	law]	connector	[can-find out-ref.]	[subj.	man]
m	M	m	m-M-m	m	M

(109) The man can find out about the law.

so	mama?	na	kataoan	ian	so	kokoman
[m	man]	connector	[can-find out-ref.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[ref.	law]
m	M	m	m-M-m	M	m	M

(110) Even a child can do that.

mapia	a	oata?	na	masoa?
[formative-good	connector	child]	connector	[can-do objv.]
m-M	m	M	m	m-M

ian	anana
[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[that]
M	M

(111) This clock is about to stop.

gia	relos	a?i	na	maga?an	gomenek
[this	clock	here]	connector	[soon	subjv.-stop]
M	M	M	m	M	M→m̄-M

(112) He wants to marry.

kebaia?	sekanian	mangaroma
[formative-future-want subjv.]	[3rd sg. subj.]	[subj.-distributive-marry]
m-m-M	M	m-m-M

(113) He wants to escape.

kebaiaʔ	sekanian	malagoi
[formative future-want subjv.]	[3rd sg. subj.]	[can-go away subjv.]
m-m-M	M	m-M

(114) If this is doing business, then you indeed had better stop right away.

o	giaʔi	kandagang	na	ba	ka
[if	this	nominalizer-do business]	connector	[if for sure	2nd sg. subj.
M	M	m-M	m	M	M

den	gegenek
indeed	future-stop for sure subjv.]
M	m-M

(115) When Friday came, he sold the sugar.

kagia	diamaʔat	na	pipesa	nian
[when	Friday]	connector	[past-sell objv.]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]
M	M	m	M→m̄-M	M

so	gola
[obj.	sugar]
m	M

(116) When it was morning, he went to Dansalan in order to buy merchandise.

miapitaʔ	na	somiong	sa	dansalan
[can-past-morning objv.]	connector	[subjv.-past-go]	[obj.	Dansalan]
m→m̄-m-M	m	M→m̄-m̄-M	m	M

ka	pemasa	sa	dagangan
[in order to	distributive-future-buy subjv.]	[obj.	business-formative]
m	(m→m̄-m)-M	m	M-m

(117) We will clean the house with the broom.

ipelompio	ta	so	paiopas	ko	oalai
[instr.-future-clean]	[1st dual non-obj.]	[instr.	broom]	[def. obj.	house]
m-m-M	M	m	M	m	M

(118) It is with the rattan ball that he is circling the lawn.

ipelebet	ian	ko	lama?	so	sipa?
[instr.-present-progressive-circle]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[def. obj.	lawn]	[instr.	ball]
m-m-M→m̄-M	M	m	M	m	M

(119) The knife is what I used to chop up fish.

initated	aken	sa	seda?	so	gelat
[instr.-past-chop]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[indef. obj.	fish]	[instr.	knife]
m-m-M	M	m	M	m	M

(120) He will use the knife to chop up the dove.

ipenated	ian	ko	marapatik	so	gelat
[instr.-distributive-chop]	[3rd sg. non-obj.]	[def. obj.	dove]	[instr.	knife]
m-m-M	M	m	M	m	M

(121) I butchered the chicken with a knife.

inisombali?	aken	so	gelat	ko	manok
[instr.-past-butcher]	[1st sg. non-obj.]	[instr.	knife]	[def. obj.	chicken]
m-m-M	M	m	M	m	M

(122) The woman is using her hair to wipe oil off the stick.

pekisising o bebai so bok

[present progressive-instr.-wipe] [subj. woman] [instr. hair

m-m-M m M m M

ian sa lana ko koit

3rd sg. non-obj.] [indef. obj. oil] [ref. stick]

M m M m M

(123) I will tell you little by little what happened to me.

panotolen aken reka so

[distributive-tell-objv.] [1st sg. non-obj.] [2nd sg. ref.] [obj.

m-M-m M M m

kiaokitan aken

can-past-happen-ref.] [1st sg. non-obj.]

(m→m̄-m)-M-m M

(124) You must equip the cart for me.

pendaraʔi nio raken

[distributive-future-equip-ref. must] [2nd pl. non-obj.] [1st sg. obj.]

(m→m̄-m)-M-m M M

so karo

[ref. cart]

m M

(125) The man will cut the cloth for the child.

tabasen o mamaʔ so dinis ko oataʔ

[cut-objv.] [subj. man] [obj. cloth] [ref. child]

M-m m M m M m M

(126) The man will butcher carabao for the mayor's arrival.

sombaliʔan	o	mamaʔ	so	kapekaʔoma	o
[*butcher-ref.*]	[*subj.*	*man*]	[*ref.*	*formative-subjv.-future-can-arrive*	*of*
M-m	m	M	m	m-m-m-m-M	m

maior	sa	karabao
mayor]	[*obj.*	*carabao*]
M	m	M

(127) *They will butcher the carabao on the lawn for the lady of the palace's arrival.*

sombaliʔin	iran	ko	lamaʔ	so	karabao	ko
[*butcher-objv.*]	[*3rd pl. non-obj.*]	[*loc.*	*lawn*]	[*obj.*	*carabao*]	[*ref.*
M-m	M	m	M	m	M	m

kapekaʔomo	o	baʔi	sa	torogan
formative- subjv.-future-can-arrive	*of*	*lady*	*connector*	*sleep-formative*]
m-m-m-m-M	m	M	m	M-m

(128) *The sultan gathered the people to the palace by means of the agong.*

inilimod	o	solotan	ko	tao	sa
[*instr.-past-gather*]	[*subj.*	*sultan*]	[*def. obj.*	*people*]	[*ref.*
m-m-M	m	M	m	M	m

torogan	so	agong
sleep-formative place]	[*instr.*	*agong*]
M-m	m	M

(129) *The girl will have her mother oil her hair with pomade.*

pekilanaʔan	o	raga	so	bok	ian
[*causative-future-oil-ref.*]	[*subj.*	*girl*]	[*ref.*	*hair*	*3rd sg. non-obj.*]
m-m-M-m	m	M	m	M	M

sa	pamada	ki	inaʔ	ian
[obj.	pomade]	[instr.-person	mother	3rd sg. non-obj.]
m	M	m-m	M	M

CHAMORRO IN MICRONESIA

4.10. Chamorro is neither in national Indonesia nor in areal Indonesia; but it is still Indonesian in the linguistic sense identified above (4.1). Geographically, Chamorro is spoken in the festoon of islands called the Marianas, the westernmost archipelago in Micronesia, of which Guam is the largest island. Chamorro is spoken by 20,000, according to Seiden (1960).

The sentences which comprise the Chamorro sample were transcribed by Donald Topping of the University of Hawaii. After the sample of sentences, additional information concerning the Chamorro sound system by Seiden (1960) and by Garvin and Mathiot (1958) is appended, as is information on loan blends in Chamorro by Topping (1962).

Sentences (1) to (6) show profile with Topic marked by the first phrase, and Comment by the second: [T phrase] [C phrase]. However, in sentences (7) to (9), Subject is marked by the first and Verb by the second phrase: [S phrase] [V phrase]. In the latter -- (7) to (9) -- phrase interiors include morphological criteria for justifying 'verb', as part of speech; it might, however, be possible to give one sentence profile for both (1) to (6) and (7) to (9), disregarding the part of speech analysis of Chamorro.

(1) One was very pretty.

i?	unu	mampus	bunitanya
[the	one]	[very	pretty-her]
m	M	m	M-m

(2) I am the biggest.

gwahu	i	itmas	daŋkulo
[emphatic I]	[the	most	big]

(3) I am a child.

patgon	zuʔ
[child]	[I]
M	M

(4) Umatac is small.

dikiki	isa	umatak
[small]	[the	Umatac]
M	m	M

(5) I don't have a sister.

tazaʔ	ciʔluhu	palawan
[nothing]	[sibling-my	female]
M	M-m	M

(6) My row is ploughed better than yours.

tunasnya	i	lucahu	kine	i	lucamu
[plough-comparative	the	row-my]	[comparative	the	row-your]
M-m	m	M-m	m	m	M m

A minor morpheme glossed comparative appears in the Topic phrase; another appears as phrase introducer in the Comment phrase. The two may be regarded as discontinuous segments of one morpheme.

(7) I am the one who wants to go.

gwahu	malægoʔ	humanaw
[emphatic I]	[wish	verb-go]
M	M	M → $\overline{m}$ - M

The second verb in the [V phrase] is a sequence of stem /hanaw/ glossed as go and infix /um/ glossed as verb (infinitive marker). The infix is represented in formula as a minor morpheme with macron ($\overline{m}$), and is preceded by the first consonant of the major morpheme (M→) and followed by the rest of the major morpheme (-M).

(8) These four cigarettes are alike.

esti	i	kwatru	na	cupa	manaculi
[this	the	four	connector	cigarette]	[plural verb-similar]
$\frac{m}{M}$	m	M	m	M	m-M

(9) The man came.

i	taw taw	matu
[the	man]	[come]
m	M	M

The order of phrases in sentences (7) to (9), above, is reversed in sentences (10) to (17), which accordingly show the profile [V phrase] [S phrase] :

(10) I became big.

dumaŋkulo	zuʔ
[verb - big]	[I]
M→ $\overline{m}$ - M	M

The 'verb' in the first phrase is a sequence of the non-verb stem / daŋkulo / big and infix -um- glossed verb (verbalizer). See comment under sentence (7) on formula for infixes.

(11) Pedro is becoming big.

dumadaŋkulo	si	pedro
[verb- duration- big]	[the	Pedro]
$M \rightarrow \overline{m} - \overline{m} - M$	m	M

In the first or [V phrase] , the phrase interior consists of two infixes (-um- glossed verb, and -ad- glossed duration) and an interrupted major morpheme /daŋkulo/ glossed big (interrupted by the two inserted infixes). In another analysis there is one infix, -um- in the exfix da- of the reduplicated stem.

(12) I am becoming big.

dumadaŋkulo	zu?
[verb-duration-big]	[I]
$M \rightarrow \overline{m} - \overline{m} - M$	M

(13) I bleed.

mahaga?	zu?
[verb-blood]	[I]
m-M	M

The person marker in the second or [S phrase] — but not person markers generally — would be the same in shape when in an Object instead of a Subject phrase.

(14) We two saw each other.

umali?i?	hit
[verb - duration-see]	[dual inclusive]
m-m-M	M

(15) They saw each other.

umali?i?	siha
[verb-duration-see]	[they dual]
m - m - M	M

(16) They all saw each other.

manali?i?	siha
[plural verb-duration-see]	[they dual]
m-m-M	M

(17) We all saw each other.

manali?i?	hit
[plural verb-duration-see]	[we inclusive]
m-m-M	M

The order of phrases in sentences (10) to (17), above, is parallel to that of (18) to (20) following, but the specification of phrases differs in the latter, where the first phrase is Comment rather than Verb, and the second is Topic rather than Subject. Accordingly, sentences (18) to (20) show the profile [C phrase] [T phrase] :

(18) I am big.

daŋkulo	zu?
[big]	[I]
M	M

(19) I'm a fighting man.

mimimu	zu?	na	tawtaw
[fight-fight]	[I	connector	man]

((M) M)	M	m	M

In the first or Comment phrase, the reduplication of first syllable (exfix) is shown by (M) in inner parentheses.

In the second or Topic phrase the phrase nucleus is marked by two major morphemes (M's) in appositional relationship. This relationship in general is marked by a minor morpheme (m) glossed connector.

(20) Her mother died.

matay	nananya
[dead]	[mother-her]
M	M-m

Sentences (21) to (33) show profile ending in Object phrase, namely, [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] . In sentences (34) to (39) the profile is slightly different for in addition to a [S phrase] which specifies Subject, there is a redundant Embedded Subject in the Verb phrase — [ES - V phrase] — which in other profiles may precede rather than follow the [S phrase] . For sentences (34) to (39), however, the profile is [S phrase] [ES - V phrase] [O phrase] .

(21) I know the word.

hu	tuŋu	i	palabras
[I]	[know]	[the	word]

(22) He made me do it.

ha	na?	co?gwi?	zu?
[he]	[cause	do]	[me]
M	M	M	M

In the last or [O phrase] , the 1st person marker is glossed me while for this person (but not others) the same morpheme also appears in [S phrases] 's. However a different morpheme, also glossed I, may appear in [S phrase]— e.g. sentence (28).

(23) I touch the turtle.

hu	paca	i	hagan
[I]	[touch]	[the	turtle]
M	M	m	M

(24) He is bleeding on my shirt.

ha	hahaga?i		i	cinanahu
[he]	[bleed-bleed-implicative]		[the	shirt-my]
M	((M) M)—	m	m	M

(25) They picked my apple.

ma	tifi?	i	mansanahu
[they]	[pick]	[the	apple-my]
M	M	m	M-m

(26) I have your book.

hu	culi	i	lepblomu
[I]	[have]	[the	book-your]
M	M	m	M-m

(27) Something is making us big.

ma	na?	dadaŋkulo	ham
[they]	[cause	big-big]	[us]
M	M	((M) M)	M

(28) I saw the boat.

hu	liʔiʔ	i	batku
[I]	[see]	[the	boat]
M	M	m	M

(29) Only I see Juan.

gwahu	lumiʔiʔ	si	hwan
[emphatic I]	[verb-see]	[the	Juan]
m-M	$M \rightarrow \overline{m}$-M	m	M

(30) I alone see the horse.

gwahu	lumiliʔiʔ	i	kabazu
[emphatic I]	[verb-duration-see]	[the	horse]
m-M	$M \rightarrow \overline{m}$- ((M)M)		

The infix /um/ is glossed verb (verbalizer) in sentence (29), above, and here (30); here, in addition, there is reduplication, glossed duration, which is shown in formula by inner parentheses. The verb stem is/liʔiʔ/ see; the first syllable is reduplicated or in other words exfixed, and the infix, /um/, is inserted between the consonant and vowel of the exfix.

(31) Only Marie sees Juan.

si	mari	lumiʔiʔ	si	hwan
[the	Marie]	[verb-see]	[the	Juan]

(32) I see the horse.

hu	liliʔiʔ	i	kabazu
[I]	[see-see]	[the	horse]
M	((M) M)	m	M

Here the reduplication glossed see-see shows the first syllable exfixed, without infix in the exfix.

(33) Juan and his family live in Hagatnya.

si	hwan	zæn	i	famidanya	manyasaga	hagatnya
[the	Juan	and	the	family-his]	[plural verb-duration-live]	[Hagatnya]
m	M	m	m	M-m	m-m-M	M

(34) Pedro speared the fish.

si	pedro	ha	tokča	i	gwihæn
[the	Pedro]	[he	spear]	[the	fish]
m	M	M	M	m	M

Here and in the following sentences of this group, the profile changes from [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase], as above, to [S phrase] [ES-V phrase] [O phrase].

(35) Juan sees the horse.

si	hwan	ha	liʔiʔ	i	kabazu
[the	Juan]	[he	see]	[the	horse]
m	M	M	M	m	M

(36) Maria knows Juan.

si	mariya	ha	tuŋu	si	hwan
[the	Maria]	[she	know]	[the	Juan]
m	M	M	M	m	M

(37) Marie sees Juan.

si	mari	ha	liʔiʔ	si	hwan
[the	Marie]	[she	sees]	[the	Juan]
m	M	M	M	m	M

(38) The papaya turned Juan yellow.

i	papaza	munaʔ	amarizu	si	hwan
[the	papaya]	[it-cause	yellow]	[the	Juan]
m	M	m-M	M	m	M

(39) Juan and his family will live in Hagatnya.

si	hwan	zæn	i	famidanya	para	u
[the	Juan	and	the	family his]	[future	he

fanyaga	hagatnya
future plural verb-live]	[Hagatnya]

The sentences following, (40) to (82), are given in groups averaging two or three sentences for each profile, as specified.

[ES - V phrase] [O phrase]:

(40) I want to read the book.

zæhu	tumaytay	i	lepblo
[want-I	verb-read]	[the	book]
$M-\frac{m}{M}$	$M \rightarrow \bar{m}-M$	m	M

(41) He will be living in Hagatnya.

para	u	sasaga	hägatnya
[future	he	stay-stay]	[Hagatnya]
m	M	((M)-M)	M

[ES - V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] :

(42) John kissed Marie.

ha	ciku	si /	hwan	si	mari
[he	kiss]	[the	Juan]	[the	Marie]
M	M	m	M	m	M

(43) The dog likes Juan.

zæ nya	i	ga?lago	si	hwan
[like-he]	[the	dog]	[the	Juan]
M-m	m	M	m	M

(44) Juan loves dogs.

zæ nya	si	hwan	ga?lago
[like-he]	[the	Juan]	[dog]
M-m	m	M	M

(45) We caught more than two hundred pounds of fish.

manmaŋoni?	ham	mas	di	dos	syintos
[plural verb-catch]	[we]	[(more	than	two	hundred
m-M	M	M	m	M	M

libras	na	gwihæn
pounds)	connector	fish]
M	m	M

[Relative V phrase] [S phrase] [Ag. phrase] :

(46) It is Juan who is known to Maria.

tiniŋu	si	hwan	æs	mariya
[Rel. -know]	[the	Juan]	[the	Maria]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M

(47) It is Juan whom Marie sees.

liniʔiʔ	si	hwan	æs	mari
[Rel. -see]	[the	Juan]	[the	Marie]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M

(48) It is Jose whom Peter touches.

pinaca	si	hose	æs	pedro
[Rel. -touch]	[the	Jose]	[the	Pedro]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M

(49) It is the horse that Juan sees.

liniʔiʔ	i	kabazu	æs	hwan
[Rel. -see]	[the	horse]	[the	Juan]
M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M

[V phrase] [S phrase] [Relative V phrase] :

(50) I am the one who wants to fly.

malægoʔ	zuʔ	ginipu
[want]	[I]	[Rel. -fly]
M	M	M→m̄-M

[V phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] :

(51) I want to fly.

malægoʔ	zuʔ	gumupu
[want]	[I]	[verb-fly]
M	M	M→m̄-M

(52) I want to be a child.

malægoʔ	zuʔ	pumatgon
[want]	[I]	[verb-child]
M	M	M→m̄-M

[V phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] :

(53) I want to know the word.

malægo	zuʔ	tumuŋu	i	palabras
[want]	[I]	[verb-know]	[the	word]
M	M	M→m̄-M	m	M

[V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase] ; the last phrase in this profile specifies Location in time or place, and begins with a phrase introducer (minor morpheme) preceding major morpheme, or else specifies Location relative to Subject by major morpheme alone.

(54) We use to live in Hagatnya.

ginin	sumaga	ham	giza	hagatnya
[past	verb-live]	[we]	[location	Hagatnya]
m	M→m̄-M	M	m	M

(55) He died at Yona.

matay	gwiʔ	giza	zoʔnya

[die]	[he]	[location	Yona]
M	M	m	M

(56) I am climbing the coconut tree.

kahuhulu	zuʔ	gi	troŋkin	nizuk
[duration-climb]	[I]	[location	(tree	coconut)]
m-M	M	M	M	M

In the first or [V phrase] the reduplicated stem /huhulu/ is preceded by the prefix glossed duration. In the first or [V phrase] of sentence (57) following, the infix /um/ is inserted between the consonant and vowel of the prefix /ka/.

(57) I alone am climbing the coconut tree.

kumahuhulu	zuʔ	gi	troŋkin	nizuk
[verb-duration-climb]	[I]	[location	(tree	coconut)]
m→ $\overline{m}$-m-M	M	m	M	M

(58) We went fishing last night.

humanaw	mumeska	ham	gi	payŋi
[verb-go	verb-fish]	[we]	[location	last night]
M→$\overline{m}$-M	M→$\overline{m}$-M	M	m	M

(59) I stayed there.

sumaga	zuʔ	gwatu
[verb-stay]	[I]	[there]
M→ $\overline{m}$-M	M	M

[S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase] :

(60) I saw her at Zoʔnya.

hu	liʔiʔ	gwiʔ	giza	zoʔnya
[I]	[see]	[her]	[location	Zoʔnya]

[ES - V phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase] :

(61) He was made to go on the boat.

mana?	hanaw	gwi?	gi	batku
[they-cause	go]	[him]	[location	boat]
m-M	M	M	m	M

The remaining profiles which include Location phrase show [L phrase] after [O phrase] (if there is an [O phrase]), but before or after [S phrase] :

(62) She did all the work in the house.

todu	i	ce?cu?	gi	gima?	gwiza
[all	the	work]	[location	house]	[she-emphatic]
M	m	M	m	M	M-m

cumo?co?gwi?
[verb-duration-do]
M → m̄-M

(63) They saw him at the river yesterday.

ma	li?i?	gwi?	gi	sadok	nigap
[they]	[see]	[him]	[location	river]	[yesterday]
M	M	M	m	M	M

(64) Once upon a time, in a far away place, there lived a family.

apmamam	na	tyimpo	gi	cago	na	lugat
[long ago	connector	time]	[location	far	connector	place]
M	m	M	m	M	m	M

manyasaga	un	famiya
[verb plural-duration-live]	[a	family]

m-m-M m M

In the next three sentences, following, the Interrogative phrase might be taken as Comment before Topic phrase; but in the sample of remaining sentences, [Inter. phrase] is followed by both [V phrase] and [S phrase], in that order or the other way around — sometimes preceded by [O phrase] :

(65) Who's that?

hazi enaw
[who] [that]
M-m M

(66) Where is Pedro?

maŋgi si pedro
[where] [the Pedro]
M-m m M

(67) Where is the mango?

maŋgi i maŋ a
[where] [the mango]
M-m m M .

(68) When were you born?

ŋayan nay mafanyagu haw
[when] [connector born] [you]
M m M M

(69) Where does he live?

mano nay sumasaga gwiʔ
[where] [connector verb-duration-live] [he]

M-m	m	M→ m̿-m̿-M	M

(70) What is your name?

hazi	naʔanmu
[who]	[name your]
M-m	M-m

(71) What have you got?

hafa	gwinahamu
[what]	[noun-have-you]
M-m	M→ m̿-M

(72) Which does he want?

mano	malægoʔ nya
[where]	[wish - he]
M-m	M-m

(73) Which man do you know?

mano	na	tawtaw	tiniŋoʔ mu
[where]	[connector	man]	[Rel. - know - you]
M-m	m	M	M→ m̿-M-m

(74) Do you know him?

kaw	un	tuŋu	gwiʔ
[question]	[you]	[know]	[him]

(75) Do you know that Palauan?

kaw	un	tuŋuʔ	azu	na	gupalaw
[question]	[you]	[know]	[that	connector	Palauan]

(76) Do you want to see some boats?

kaw	malægo?	haw	manli?i?	batku
[question]	[want]	[you]	[plural verb-see]	[boat]
M	M	M	m-M	M

(77) Do you want to see the Canadian bear?

kaw	malæ go?	haw	lumli?i?	i	kanada	ber
[question]	[want]	[you]	[verb-see]	[the	Canada	bear]
M	M	M	m-M	m	M	M

In the sample of sentences with Negative phrase, the specification of subject or [ES phrase] follows immediately after the initial [Neg. phrase] :

(78) I don't want to read.

muŋa?	zu?	manaytay
[not want]	[I]	[plural verb-read]
M	M	m-M

(79) I don't like Saksak very much.

ti	gof	zæhu	saksak
[not]	[much	like-I]	[Saksak]
M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M-m	M

(80) They don't want to read books.

muŋa?	siha	manaytay	lepblo
[not want]	[they]	[plural verb-read]	[books]
M	M	m-M	M

(81) They don't want to read that book.

muŋa?	siha	tumaytay	azu	na	lepblo
[not want]	[they]	[verb-read]	[that	connector	book]
M	M	M→ m̄-M	m	m	M

(82) I don't want to read that book.

muŋa?	zu?	tumaytay	azu	na	lepblo
[not want]	[I]	[verb-read]	[that	connector	book]
M	M	M→ m̄-M	m	m	M

For the following sentences, (83) to (106), information is given on phrase segmentation.

(83) They will go.

para	u	fanhanaw
[future	they	plural-go]
M	M	m-M

(84) I am very lonely.

mahalaŋ	zu?	mampus
[lonely	I	very]
M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$

(85) Tell the story for me.

saŋan	i	zi	zu?	nu	i	istoriya
[tell	the]	[for	me]	[connector	the	story]
M	m	m	M	m	m	M

(86) Touch me.

paca	zuʔ
[touch]	[me]
M	M

(87) One can't go out in a canoe through a channel when the moon isn't up.

ti	sinya	humuzuŋ	i	gælaydeʔ	gi	sagwaʔ
[not]	[can	verb-go]	[the	canoe]	[location	channel]
M	m	M→m̿-M	m	M	m	M

mintras	ti	ka-hu-huluʔ	i	pilan
[while]	[not]	[duration-up]	[the	moon]
M	M	M→m̿-M	m	M

(88) Do you know a Palauan?

kaw	gwaha	tiniŋ oʔmu	gupalaw
[question]	[there-is]	[Rel. - know - you]	[Palauan]
M	m-M	M→m̿-M-m	M

(89) It weighed about three pounds?

kaw	huluhaʔ	tres	libras
[question]	[up-intensive]	[three	pounds]
M	M-m	M	M

(90) Aren't you the one who is sharpening?

na	ti	hagu	mangwagwasa
[not question]	[not]	[you emphatic]	[plural verb-sharpen-sharpen]
M	M	M	m - ((M) - M)

(91) What is your sister's name?

hazi	naʔannya	i	ciʔlumu	palawan
[who]	[name-her]	[the	sibling-your	female]
M	M-m	m	M-m	M

(92) There's a long snout on a Saksak, isn't there?

azu	i	anako	skiosnya	na	saksak	nay
[that]	[the	long	snout-his]	[connector	Saksak]	[not question]
M	m	M	M-m	m	M	M

(93) Dodu is not enjoyable because its guts stink.

ti	manŋiʔ	dodu	saʔ	mutuŋ	i	tilipas nya
[not]	[enjoy]	[Dodu]	[because]	[stink]	[the	guts-his]
M	M	M	M	M	m	M-m

(94) Tell me a story.

saŋan	i	zuʔ	un	istoriya
[tell]	[the	me]	[a	story]
M	m	M	m	M

(95) The person Juan kissed last night will go out.

i	ciniku	gi	payŋi	æs	hwan	u	huzuŋ
[the	Rel.-kiss]	[location	last night]	[the	Juan]	[she	go out]
m	M→m̄-M	m	M	m	M	M	M

(96) The papaya caused me to turn yellow.

ninaʔ	amarizu	zuʔ	nu	i	papaza
[Rel. - cause	yellow]	[me]	[by	the	papaya]
M→m̄-M	M	M	m	m	M

(97) I saw him reading.

hu	liʔiʔ	gwiʔ	mananaytay
[I]	[see]	[him]	[plural verb-duration-read]
M	M	M	m - m - M

(98) I am like Pedro.

umaculi	zuʔ	zæn	si	pedro
[verb-similar]	[I	and	the	Peter]
m-M	M	m	m	M

(99) You've had enough bowling?

básta	haw	bumoliŋ
[enough]	[you]	[verb-bowl]
M	M	M→ m̄-M

(100) I want somebody to fly me.

malægoʔ	zuʔ	ma	naʔ	gupu
[want]	[I]	[they]	[cause	fly]
M	M	M	M	M

(101) They will see each other tomorrow.

u	fán a liʔiʔ	agupaʔ
[they]	[future plural-duration-see]	[tomorrow]

(102) We sleep outside.

i	sæn	huzuŋ	nay	ta	maygo
[the	place	out]	[connector	we inclusive]	[sleep]
m	m	M	m	M	M

(103) Kiroga went out and looked for Talage, a man from Inalahan.

humanaw	si	kiroga	ha	aligaw	si	talage
[verb go]	[the	kiroga]	[he]	[seek]	[the	Talage
M→m̄-M	m	M	M	M	m	M

tawtaw	inalahan
man	Inalahan]
M	M

(104) You remember the turtle you saw in the boat, don't you?

un	hasu	i	hagan	un	liʔiʔ	gi	boti	no
[you]	[think]	[the	turtle]	[you]	[see]	[location	boat]	[no]

(105) I saw him reading my book.

hu	liʔiʔ	gwiʔ	tumataytay	i	lepbloku
[I]	[see]	[him]	[verb-read]	[the	book-my]
M	M	M	M→m̄-M	m	M-m

(106) We went, Kimio and I, to sell the fish at Bernado's.

humanaw	ham	zæn	si	kimiyo	para	in
[verb-go]	[we	and	the	Kimio]	[infinitive	we. excl.
M→m̄-M	M	m	m	M	m	M

bindi	i	gwihæn	gi	æs	bernado
sell]	[the	fish]	[location	the	Bernado]
M	m	M	m	m	M

The Chamorro sentences transcribed by Topping make the same distinctions in consonants and vowels that are made by William Seiden, Chamorro

Phonemes, Anthropological Linguistics 2.4. 6-35 (1960), and by Madeleine Mathiot in Word 14. 178-86 (1958), as well as in her master's thesis (Georgetown University, 1955). The differences in analyzing the sound system of Chamorro are largely restricted to treatment of pitch and juncture. The fullest treatment is that by Seiden (1960), who transcribes five kinds of juncture and three kinds of stress with grave and acute marks and unmarked (*op. cit.* pp. 11, 12); and who also specifies the Consonant (C) - Vowel (V) shapes of morphemes in Chamorro (*op. cit.* p. 16), and who gives a list of permitted consonant clusters in Chamorro morphemes (*op. cit.* pp. 26 and 27):

/+/, open transition, is characterized by slight pause and no hesitation in a speech chain with the tone remaining level on the last syllable. It is differentiated from close transition (unmarked) by separate and not concomitant articulation of two adjacent phonemes whether in words or morphemes (for examples in morphemes see *1.*) Examples in words: pæ̀ra béhu+manàʔ-máyla *I'll be made to come*, ìn+fanmáyla *we will be coming*, má+màmátaz̨u *I am made to wake up*.

/ | /, single bar juncture, is a hesitation, not a pause, in speech and is characterized by level tone sustained on the last syllable. It indicates speech is not to be discontinued.

/ || /, double bar juncture, is similar to / | / except that tone is raised on the last syllable. I have found no predictable conditioning factors which would permit me to group / | / and / || / into one juncture phoneme.

/ # /, double cross juncture, is a hesitation which is characterized by a falling tone on the last syllable. It indicates speech is to be discontinued.

" / ↓ / is signaled by an abrupt lowering of tone on the last syllable, after which there is a pause. After this pause, speech may or may not be continued.

" Following is a textlet illustrating stress and juncture in Chamorro...

'Liberation Day'

páʔgo nàʔaʔáni tásilébra ‖ ì gíput + sa èsti nàʔaʔáni nàymanmáta
now on day we celebrate the holiday because this on day return

táʔlu | ì sindálu ámerikána pàra ùfanlíbrihit ‖ gínin ì
again the soldier(s) american to (will) liberate us from the
ʐápanis ‖ nix úmukúkupà ì tanóʔta # tanáʔi ʐúʔus maʔási |
Japanese who (were) occupying the home our we give God thanks

tódos èsta síha na sindálu + sa mànmátutáti ʐa
all this they that soldier(s) because their return back and

hànafànlíbrihit ‖ gi géra # tanáʔi lókwi dáŋkulo si
they made free us from the war we give also great (honorary particle)

ʐúʔus maʔási sà + manlálahit ʐa taliʔi tódos ì tanánæya |
God thanks because alive we and we see all the we waiting

gi ápmam na tyémpo dísidi màmasáʔpihit ‖ gì ì tyémpo
from long ago that time since suffering we from the time

ì ʐǽpanese # táfan dísidi páʔgo nàʔáʔeni ‖
the Japanese ('completed' particle) since now on day

tafànnacóʔco + dúro | ȥa ta + háca tódos ì gimáta | sa
we (will) make work hard and we build all the home our because

taàrégalshit ì tanóta | sa máʔpus + ì géral ȥa talíʔi
we fix us the home our because over the war and we see

tòdos ì minæwlik móʔna páʔgo nityémpo # ȥa tánafanmæwlikhit
all the goodness forward (from) now on in time and we (will) make good ourselves

‖ sa taàȥúda tòdos màn + gáygi na tæwtæw | sa hánafànlibrihit
because we help all they here that people because they make us free

gi ì géra #
from the war

" ... The following example is the first part of a response given to a stickman picture and especially to the question, 'do you think the picture's complete?'

áhi ↓ ì táta ì pàtgun nàláhi ȥan ì nána ‖ táȥa
no the father the young boy (youngness of son) and the mother no

pacutníha #
mouth(s) their "

"A Chamorro morpheme rarely exceeds four syllables and is usually composed of alternating CV sequences. The major canonical shapes of morphemes are as follows: CVCV níha *they;* CVCVC, CSVVCVV, CSVVCVC máduk *hole,* gwáhu *I,* gwí hæn *fish;* VCVC, VCCV úcan *rain,* ámko *old;* VCCVCV, VCCVC aflíto *to fry,* ápmam *soon;* V ì *the;* CVCVCV, CVCVCVC, CVCCVCV palúma *woman,* kákàleg *bitter taste,* dáŋkulo *big;* CVCCV, CVCCVC dánci *to hit,* gáʔcoŋ *partners;* CVC gós *very;* VCVCVCV, VCCVCVCV ámaríʐu *yellow,* àdborôto *to decorate;* VCVCCVC, VCVCVCVC alákran *scorpion,* ækadídug *sharp piercing instrument,* ægǽʔgæʔ *red.*"

"The following consonant clusters occur within morphemes: with stop as first member : Stop + stop (SS), fricative (SF), nasal (SN), liquid (SL), semi-vowel (SSV); fricative as first member : fricative + stop (FS), nasal (FN), liquid (FL), semi-vowel (F-SV); with nasal as first member: nasal + stop (NS), fricative (NF), liquid (NL), semi-vowel (N-SV); with semi-vowel as first member: semi-vowel + stop (SVS), fricative (SVF), nasal (SVN), liquid (SVL).

"SS: mápta *split,* tótpe *to hit somebody,* bátbas *beard,* atkíla *to rent,* kotcon *trash,* pódpod *think,* àdboróta *decoration,* búdto *image,* cádgi *later,* maláktus *sharp piercing instrument,* fágti *to catch,* dógdòg *bread-fruit,* fìnaʔtínas *to put something in order,* dóʔdoʔ *fart,* éʔkùʔkùʔ *to catch quail,* páʔgo *now,* facóʔco *to work,* máʔʐa *float.*

"SF: mátfut *ivory,* masóksòk *skinny,* fógsun *infection,* afaʔfaʔ *armpit,* sèʔsúʐi *to repeat,* ʐaʔhu *to know.*

"SN: ápmam *soon,* ábmam *long ago,* fítma *to write your name,* tátne *to bury,* hátmi *to enter,* cédnod *disease,* sókni *to put the blame on,* lagnos to pull out, meʔmeʔ to urinate.

" SL: méplo thick haired, póbli poor, matlína godmother, lóklog to fail, alákran scorpion, numáʔlo to come back to life.

" SSV: pwéŋi night, bwénti perhaps, nóbyo hover, lókwi also, lásgwi to sharpen, kwintúsi to question.

" FS: hóspog satisfied, alísto quick, amáska to chew tobacco, máfte accident where teeth are broken loose, isgáyhun to lead, táfʐe to shake a tray, limósna balm, máfnut tight.

" FL: goflíʔi happy.

" FSV: asyénta starch.

" NS: támpi to cover, tanpi the cover, táŋkud cage, póntan coconut fallen to the ground, ámte to treat, ámko old, ándi flirt, máŋto ground into pieces, bentána window, dánci to hit, ʐéŋʐúŋ to shake, hamlu you (pl.), ʔanca farmer.

" NF: fánfi to pick, hómhúm dark, fénso meat, munháʐun to finish, téŋho neck.

" NL: alámle wine, áŋlo dry.

" NSV: maŋwéntos to talk, bányo shower room, kásamyénto marriage.

" SVS: táytay to read, máypi to die, tuláyka to change, máygu to sleep, ŋǽy ʔæn when, galóydi canoe, páwpàw fragrant, tǽwtæ̀w man.

" SVF: isgáyhun to lead, gwáyfun windy, faysin to question, háwhàw to bark.

" SVN: sáyna apparent.

" SVL: táylaʐi wicked, sǽwlæk to whip.

". . . Consonant clusters consisting of three consonants are confined to the combinations /-tʔn-/ and -CCSV-. Examples: kátʔni *meat,* adótʔna *to decorate*, háfnyo *high tide*, lásgwi *to sharpen.* "

Donald M. Topping analyzes a half dozen Chamorro-English loan blends (pp. 284-7) in Language Learning 12.4. 281-87 (1962), after noting that the donors of the blends have been coexistent languages for half century or so — officially, since 1898, when there were only a thousand Chamorro speakers on Guam; since then the number of Chamorro speakers has increased twenty fold, and borrowing has been from English as the prestige language, replacing Spanish which had been the prestige language after Magellan (1521):

"10.1 [manpíŋpɔ̀ŋham] 'we play pingpong'

[man . . .ham] 1st person dual pronoun when no object is specified.

No action marker such as the infix /-um-/ (as in /puméska/ 'to fish', or as in 10.5 below) is needed in this utterance. As with other games in Chamorro, which by themselves carry the concept of action, the addition of the pronoun form is all that is necessary. The phonemic structure of 'pingpong' is acceptable to Chamorro; hence, no phonemic modification is necessary.

10.2 [halílìyɪt] 'he leads'

[ha-] 3rd person singular subject pronoun.

[-lí . . . yɪt] 'leads'. Since there are no monosyllabic verbs in Chamorro, the base form is here lengthened to two syllables with the addition of the semi-vowel /y/.

[-lílì-] Stressed syllable of base form is reduplicated to show continuous nature of the activity.

[-yɪt-] Since there are no final voiced stops and no final consonant clusters, the original [dz] becomes the closest permissible substitute, /t/. The vowel in the final syllable is lowered to [ɪ] because it is in a closed, unstressed syllable.

10.3 [hanaʔ interérɛ̀hɪshɪt] 'he makes interesting to us' (he causes to interest us).

[ha-] 3rd person singular subject pronoun.

[-naʔ-] Causative marker.

[-rérɛ̀ -] Stressed syllable is reduplicated to show continuous nature of the activity. The Chamorro speaker stresses the penultimate syllable of 'interesting', following his own stress pattern for multi-syllabic words. This explains why the first stressed syllable in English pronunciation (in-) is not reduplicated. The reduplicated syllable is always open; hence, we cannot get [-rɛsrɛs-] or [rɛstrɛst-] .

[-hɪs-] /h/ is used to separate contiguous vowels.

[-hɪt-] 1st person plural inclusive object pronoun.

10.4 [manɛkspléplèhɪn] 'she was explaining' (subject not shown).

This shows the same modifications as were seen in the example above. In this case there is no definite pronoun marker since the subject was already established in the previous utterance.

[man-] Indicates there is no specific object.

[-ɛksplé . . . hɪn] /h/ is used again to separate the vowels. Since the diphthong was broken during reduplication, the vowel sound in the second part of the broken syllable is [ɪ].

[-ɛks-] Since Chamorro does not normally permit final clusters, this is a case of the host language conforming to the phonemic pattern of the borrowed word. Although this expression was first recorded as it is described here, successive repetitions of the word produced [manɛspléplèhɪn] with the loss of /k/, most frequently. Such final clusters are much more likely to occur when they are voiceless and not in word final position.

10.5 [humámi nu lumə́ns 'we lunched together'

[humámi] = [hu] 'I' + [mami] 'we two'. Ordinarily, both of these pronoun forms are not used together. This is an emphatic form.

[nu] Particle linking the pronoun with the verb.

[lumə́ns] 'to lunch'. Chamorro does not ordinarily permit /ə/ in stressed syllables. This is a case of Chamorro adapting itself to the borrowed form. The same is true of the final consonant cluster, since they are not found in Chamorro words. Since there is no final /č/ in Chamorro, the speaker finds final [ns] less alien, and hence uses it as the closest substitute.

[l . . . əns] 'lunch'

[-um-] Action marker, always in the first syllable, following initial consonant or preceding initial vowel.

10.6 [dzumòdzuhʋ́kshaw] 'you are joking'; 'you make jokes'

[-um-] Action marker.

[dz . . . o . . . hʋks] 'jokes'. The word has been transformed to a disyllabic, thus conforming to Chamorro verb syllabic pattern. [-h-] is inserted to separate contiguous vowels. [ʋ] occurs in place of [o] in the second syllable. The two vowels [u--o] are in free variation in word final position. It is raised from [o] to [ʋ] under the influence of [u] in the preceding syllable.

[dz . . . odzu-] The first vowel is following the vowel in the English original, 'jokes'. The second vowel, even though it is in a reduplicated syllable, is raised to [u] by morphophonemic change caused by the [u] in the infix [-um-] .

[-ks-] Cf. 10.4 above. Here, the release of the second consonant of the cluster, namely /s/, is delayed, and thus carried over into the final syllable.

[-haw-] 'you', pronominal suffix used with "um"-type verbs."

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	American Anthropologist
ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	Language
RCPAFL	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

CONTENTS

INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE FOUR

4.1. Unified list of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Formosa and Madagascar 2

4.2. Sample of sound systems in Indonesian languages 72

4.3. Cham, as spoken in Vietnam 91

4.4. North Roglai in Vietnam 107

4.5. Javanese 119

4.6. Sundanese in Western Java 159

4.7. Buginese in the Celebes 166

4.8. Bahasa Indonesia 189

4.9. Maranao in the Philippines 227

4.10. Chamorro in Micronesia 265